The Commons

MAY, 1904

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The Commons

Number 5-Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, May, 1904

With The Editor

No Silence at Violence.

The demand that labor unions purge themselves from complicity with lawlessness and violence, whenever and wherever implicated, is rightfully insistent. It comes not nearly so much from those who wish them ill, as from their well-wishers in and outside of their own ranks. It is not surprising that the more honorable the men among them are, the more indignantly they resent the implication and the demand that they repudiate what they never justified. But second sober thought should at least take into account such considerations as these. Nothing is costing trades unionism such defection in the public support it so much needs as even the suspicion of resorting to violence. American public opinion at heart is fair and law-abiding. In the end it will never stand for taking the law into one's own hands, or relying upon the blow of force instead of the persuasion and justice of one's cause. Ostensibly, at least, in times of strike and lockout, violence is done in the name and for the sake of the union cause. It will not do always to say that it is incited by employers' detectives or done by the mob. For it is more frequently charged up to their account than the evidence ever adduced warrants. Usually it is due solely to the individual men who commit the overt act. Rarely is it to be traced to the collective action of the union or its officers. In either case general denial is not enough to discharge the union of responsibility.

The member of a union committing overt acts of violence should not only be held individually accountable by the union, as well as by the public, but the union should, for its own sake and that of the community, help detect and convict the law-breaker. Nothing short of this policy will line up the wavering public support and win the new friends the unions need. It may be necessary also to hold the oldest and most loyal trades unionists in the ranks where and when their loyalty to law and the union pull apart. If this stand for law and order were fearlessly taken, in a short, sharp and decisive way, it would not only restore lost public favor, but would go far to get support for every demand of labor that commends itself as just and reasonable. But every blow of violence strikes a nail on the head which is being driven straight into the coffin that will bury a type of unionism so unworthy of its name and cause.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union of Chicago has the honor of setting the precedent for an open and aggressive stand against offenders. It produced in court one of its own members who had attacked a non-union man, furnished four witnesses from the union to testify against him and collected a fine of \$20 which it imposed upon him before he was arraigned in court.

No Silent Partners in Law-Breaking.

It is not a whit less incumbent upon corporations and combinations of business men publicly to disavow and bring to justice those among their own number who, to promote the gain of enterprises in which they are interested, defv or buy or evade the common law. Gentlemen who rightly wax indignantly denunciatory over the silence of labor unions and their leaders at crimes committed in their struggles are inconsistently very still and quiet at the public scandals over the grave and criminal breaches of law and order by which corporations or private interests profit at public expense. For example, in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case we read, "The purpose of the combination was concealed under very general words that gave no clue whatever to the real purposes of those who brought about the organization of the Securities Company. If the certificate of the incorporation of that company had expressly stated that the object of the company was to destroy competition between competing parallel lines of interstate carriers, all would have seen at the outset that the scheme was in hostility to the national authority and that there was a purpose to violate or evade the act of Congress."

But now that the said "purpose" is judged criminal, who of the eminent citizens of Minnesota and of New York, publicly named among the appellants, has been heard from disavowing, much less denouncing, the crime clearly committed in their name, if not by all of them, each and severally. The United States senator who has just been convicted of a felony and sentenced to the penitentiary has been for years, by common consent, adjudged to be a legislative broker whose influence was publicly offered for sale. But now that his slimy soap-bubble has burst, where are the railway officials from whom William White charges "peremptory orders came out of Chicago and St. Louis, in the campaign which ended with Burton's election, demanding that local railroad lawyers support Burton or lose their places?" Are these lawyers purging themselves of contempt for the law by vacating such attorneyships, or even by exposing the unmanly accomplices of this convicted felon?

Chicago has been corrupted and scandalized for more than a generation by as vulgar and lawless a lobby as ever disgraced a city or state legislature in the interests of a public service corporation. No thanks are due for the failure of its nefarious and unpatriotic design upon the rights of the community to the denials or dissent of stockholders and directors, who are at least guilty of the conspiracy of silence. No more severe and searching arraignment has ever been made, in or out of court, against workingmen for contempt of law than Lincoln Steffens' indictment of the capitalist "enemies of the republic." But we submit the rank injustice either of holding the mass of business men guilty of such treasonable conspiracy because some of them are, or of holding the mass of organized workingmen guilty of violence and lawlessness because some of their number have proven to be such. It is high time for the innocent on both sides of the line to speak up and out against those among either of them who have put themselves outside the bonds of honest fellowship and the pale of patriotism.

Can the Law Compel Competition?

The decision of the United States Supreme Court against the Northern Securities Company puts this question to a more decisive test than ever. The anti-trust act upon which it is based defines its own purpose to be "to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopoly." affixes a penalty of \$5,000 fine and one year imprisonment, or both, for the crime of each contract, combine or conspiracy "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations." Judgments under this act have been repeatedly rendered and affirmed ever since its passage in 1896 by lower and higher courts. But this last decision is at once the most sweeping reaffirmation and most minute interpretation of the act ever handed down.

The majority opinion, written by Mr. Justice Harlan, affirming the decree of the United States Circuit Court for Minnesota, which dissolved the Securities Company as illegal and criminal under the act, squarely faces the compulsion of competition as the main issue of the case. It makes interference with free competition identical with the "restraint" from which the anti-trust act aims to protect interstate trade and commerce. The minority opinion further emphasizes this issue by urging against it the fact that the act says nothing directly of competition in prohibiting restraint of trade. But so definite and determined is the decision of the court on this point that, as Mr. Justice Holmes' dissenting opinion points out, it even prohibits such holding of stock as results in interference with free competition. Indeed. Justice Harlan explicitly says that the act in all prior cases "has been construed as forbidding any combination which by necessary operation destroys or restricts free competition among those engaged in interstate commerce. In still more strongly reaffirming this construction, the judges themselves raise the question "whether the free operation of the normal laws of competition is a wise and wholesome rule for trade and commerce." But the court immediately disavows the need of its considering or determining this "economic question."

In thus boldly defining the issue, however, it prompts the inquiry how decisive this decision will prove to be. It will undoubtedly for a time put the safety breaks on dangerously rapid tendencies to interfere with free competition in the interest of private monopoly. But how far will it be able to compel individuals, or combinations of them, much more whole communities, to compete, whose interest it is to cooperate? Within state lines and municipal limits the co-operative movement may freely develop. But against the force of social gravity toward the economic advantage of safeguarded combination and co-operation over unrestricted competition, is the last decision likely to prove more effectively prohibitive than those that have preceded it during the fourteen years' operation of the anti-trust act? Its most far-reaching effect is likely to be the reaffimation of the old Federalist claim of the right of Congress to control private interests for public welfare. The possible effect of this decision in establishing and developing the precedent set by the Interstate Commerce Act is incalculable.

Social Reconstruction by the Supreme Court

Mr. Justice Holmes, with the chief justice and two other justices concurring, dissents from this position as "an interpretation of the law which in my opinion would make eternal the bellum omnium contra omnes, and disintegrate society, so far as it could, into individual atoms. If that were its intent I should regard calling such a law 'a regulation of commerce' a mere pretense. It would be an attempt to reconstruct society." He adds: "I am not concerned with the wisdom of such an attempt;" but everyone else is concerned with the reconstruction, or, rather, the construction, of society involved in this decision. For, on the one hand, in behalf of an individual or individuals against whose interest or community of interests it is to compete, the minority of the court urges that under this ruling the same monopoly may be attempted and effected by an individual who owns stock in two competing roads as by a combination of individuals who do likewise. urges that it would be a crime for two stage-drivers to form a partnership who had been competitors in driving across a state line. On the other hand, the majority supports the government's charge that "if the combination was held not to be in violation of the act of Congress, then all efforts of the national government to preserve to the people the benefits of free competition among carriers engaged in interstate commerce would be wholly unavailable, and all transcontinental lines, indeed, the entire railway systems of the country, may be absorbed, merged and consolidated, thus placing the public at the absolute mercy of the holding corporation."

Between this calamity, which, the government warns the court, would follow its decision for the trust, and "the disaster and widespread financial ruin" which the trust lawyers predicted would follow a decision against them, the majority of the court steps in to avert the former and risk the latter. It will be interesting to see which of these two tendencies, to combine or to compete, will prove to be the most effective in "reconstructing society" industrially. The socialists will not be slow in trying to shut the masses up to a choice between the national monopolization of all the means and tools of production and the monopoly of the necessities of life by the capitalistic trust. Meanwhile, unterrified by this slogan of the radicals, and undeterred by this conservative decision of the United States Supreme Court, in so far as it is irrelevant to local issues within state lines, the people will continue more or less unconsciously to construct their municipal policies according to their own interests. More or less instinctively will they register their final decision between competition and co-operation, and the spheres to which one or the other shall be restricted. Upon the too impatient and inconsiderate haste in these local tendencies the merger decision may exert beneficial influence as a check and balance. But meanwhile this most notable case can hardly fail to prove a far-reaching stimulus to the great debate as to whether industrial society shall be constructed on a predominantly competitive or co-operative hasis.

Chicago's Public Ownership Vote.

Although advisory and not mandatory, the referendum vote in Chicago on the city's street railway policy is de-While "immediate municipal cisive. ownership" may prove to be entirely impracticable, as it surely would be found to be very difficult, both on account of the financial inability of the city and the inefficiency of its administration departments, yet what the peo-ple want and will have later, if not sooner, is clear enough. A vote of 152,-423 to 30,104 for the enabling act, 120,-744 to 50,893 for immediate ownership, and 120,181 to 48,056 for temporary license instead of franchises to the companies until the roads can be acquired by the city, comes close to being an imperative mandate politically. who refer to this vote as merely the ignorant sentiment of "the lodging house wards" are themselves strangely ignorant of how small a proportion of such a total even our large floating vote constitutes. But to attribute it to the labor vote squares to the facts and accounts for the casting of it. For the majorities for all three "municipal ownership" propositions were greatest in the wards where the permanent laboring population lives.

So far from being ignorantly inconsiderate, these workmen voters are practically the only organized bodies of citizens who made any consecutive effort to understand and publicly discuss the issues involved. They have been threshing out at least the points of gen-

eral public policy involved for three or four years in every labor union and in open public meetings. Moreover, they were capable of discriminating between these measures and the men who bid for their votes. For in several wards where they were expected to vote for candidates only because endorsed by the more radical public ownership faction, the labor voters decisively defeated unworthy men, some of whom posed as trades union candidates, and at the same time carried the measures by overwhelming majorities. That kind of a vote must be reckoned with by some other rejoinder than that offered by contemptuous prepossession. It can be guided with sympathetic intelligence. But it can neither be ignored nor coerced.

Women in Modern Industry.

In pursuance of its purpose to furnish its readers with the best available first-hand studies of laboring life and its social conditions, The Commons gives right of way to the special features of this number. Through the courtesy of the president of the Chicago Woman's Club and some of its most distinguished members, we present the summaries of their inquiries as to the status of woman in modern industry which they made among employers of women and women employes. The parties directly involved speak for themselves in these presentations. What other investigators think of "woman as an investor," homes of working women," "women's legal disabilities," "the training of women for industrial life" and "the status of woman in the profession of teaching" will follow in The Commons for June. The opening of the promised historical survey of the labor movement has been deferred for the same reason to the next number.

Municipal Problems and Progress.

We have waited to open our department devoted to the peoples' control of public utilities until we could present some facts and principles underlying the whole municipal situation in America, which are fundamental to any fair and intelligent treatment of that subject.

The national conference for good city government and the meeting of the National Municipal League, in session as we go to press, afford both the occasion and material for opening our discussion of the municipal policy confronting every city. By courtesy of participants in these noteworthy occasions, we are able in this issue to furnish our readers with three of the most fundamental inquiries of the program, and next month to publish the papers of distinguished publicists, announced on another page, which will constitute some of the special features

of the June number.

Valuable as was every feature of the pre-arranged program, perhaps the most invaluable contribution toward the actual work of promoting good city government was the informal exchange of experience over a lunch table. Gathered about it were the men who head up the movements for political betterment in New York City, Baltimore, Philadel-phia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, New Orleans, Kansas City, Minneapo-lis, Denver and other cities. Their comparison of experience in both success and failure was all the more practically effective because brought out by questioning and answering each other in the freest and most conversational way. It was equally advantageous both to the conference and Chicago that the National League met in this city. For it gathered no small part of its inspiration and suggestion for future work from the uniquely successful experience of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League, which in turn profits greatly by the different points of view and the inspiring personal fellowships afforded by this occasion. The countrywide outlook thus made possible, while encouraging, involves a stern, persistent, not to say desperate struggle for the emancipation of our cities from the intolerable evils of blind partisan control. But the character, ability, determination and leagued organization of the men lining up everywhere for this war without discharge are the sure harbingers of final victory.

Partisanship in Municipal Politics

By Charles J. Bonaparte

President of the National Municipal League.*

It is usually thought, or, at all events, very often said, by reformers that a national party can have no legitimate place in municipal politics, for, since the fact that a mayor or an alderman is a Republican or a Democrat cannot properly affect in any way whatever the discharge of his duties to the city he serves, it is essentially and obviously absurd to vote for him because he is a Republican rather than a Democrat or vice versa. If this proposition be really so nearly self-evident as it is usually assumed to be by those who advance it, how can we explain the fact that in at least ninetenths of the municipalities of the country a proportion of the voters no less overwhelmingly habitually cast their ballots for or against candidates for such offices just because these are Republicans or Democrats and for no other reason whatsoever? Why is it that the great bulk of our citizens, not to mention every one of our politicians, good, bad and indifferent, adopt a rule of conduct so plainly unreasonable? I think this question requires an answer.

It must be remembered that, owing to the practical and thoroughgoing adoption of the "spoils" theory of politics by our politicians, our "parties" differ essentially from political parties in all other enlightened countries, and from those known here before the adoption of that theory. Here in the early days of the republic and elsewhere now, parties were and are organizations of men entertaining similar views on questions of public policy and combining to obtain practical acceptance for their views.

But for our parties to obtain the principal executive offices, and through them those in their gift, is the whole end and reason for existence; far from wishing the offices to carry out a policy, their managers often fear above all things to advocate an intelligent policy, lest it may cost them the offices.

THE EFFECT OF THE "SPOILS" DOCTRINE.

The whole purpose of our parties being to obtain and distribute offices, they are correspondingly organized. Their leaders are prominent officeholders or those who will become such if the party succeed; their active members are the incumbents of petty offices, or such as hope to dispossess them; their revenues are derived from assessments on official salaries supplemented by the investment of capitalists having contracts to obtain or taxes to evade. Every public trust, however responsible, or however humble, that of chief justice of the Supreme Court or that of village lamplighter, is for our politicians simply current coin to excite and reward partisan activity. They believe that, as a national organization, the one party has no other aim than to seek these offices, the other, no purpose but to keep them out; that for strictly analogous reasons these parties exist and contend in every state and division of a state throughout the union. They think an American political party is kept up for purposes as strictly interested as a railroad or a life insurance company; the sentiments of its platform mean for them no more than the devotion to the public to be found in a prospectus of the former, or the longing to care for the widow and orphan professed in the circulars of the latter; such professions are advertisements and nothing more. The very men who prepare them often look with undisguised contempt upon anyone who takes them more seriously; a politician of to-day can hardly conceive of a party with other ends than to secure support at public expense for as many as possible of its members; that citizens should combine for any other purpose seems to him absurd and visionary.

No argument is needed to prove this theory of politics no less false than unworthy, but it has come dangerously

* From his annual address at the meeting of the League, April 28, at Chicago.

near to practical acceptance by a very large proportion of our citizens. The thorough refutation and rejection by public opinion of the "spoils" doctrine, the introduction and observance in good faith of the merit system in all branches of public service, federal, state and municipal, is at least a prerequisite to the rescue of municipal government from the unwholesome influence of partisan politics.

SOURCES OF THE POLITICIAN'S POWER.

Is this influence, however, wholly un-

wholesome? Is no good done in municipal politics by party organizations formed on national issues? These questions must be answered fairly. We must bear in mind the necessity and of duty seeing things as they are and not letting our wishes or our theories color the glasses through which we look out on this work-a-day world. Moreover, we must remember that half a loaf has many points of superiority over no bread, and thet a very unsatisfactory makeshift may yet be very useful while we await better. something Finally it may be

well to note once more that political parties are not essentially or necessarily quasi corporations devoted to place mongering; our parties have been no less deformed and degraded by the "spoils" system than our public service and our electorate; indeed they are the earliest and most maltreated of its victims.

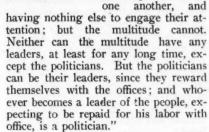
In a very clever and instructive, as well as amusing, satire, entitled, "The Boss; An Essay Upon the Art of Governing American Cities," published in

1894, and, I regret to say, already out of print, the author, a Mr. Champernowne, points out very clearly, although with a slight touch of sarcasm, why our modern American cities cannot govern themselves without the aid of politicians. He says:

"The people of a modern city differs much from the people of an ancient city, or from one of the middle ages in being very much greater in numbers. . . . But the results of this, as I said at the outset, are very important; for where there is so great

men they cannot act as one body, either in choosing rulers, or in making laws, or in deliberating about what is best to be done. . Hence in a great city it may be said that no one knows the wishes or desires of many of the citizens, and it often falls out that the greater number of them desire the same thing, but cannot bring it about because they are ignorant of their own agreement. . . Herein lies the strength and opportunity of the politicians; for can unite, being few and acquainted with

a congregation of



There is really nothing mysterious in this; some one must make it his business to control any association, or to



CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

direct any corporate work; and the more unwieldy the assemblage the more imperative is the need of expert guidance. Professional politicians are indispensable to any popular government; we are peculiar only in having more of them, and those of a lower type, than other free nations.

EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY DISCIPLINE.

It is no less clear that popular government is impossible without associations of some sorts for political ends among voters, and that the power and influence of such associations will be augmented in proportion as their members accept more promptly and cheerfully the guidance of their leaders. To quote again from "The Boss":

"The great need of any number of men, if they are to accomplish anything by acting in common, is to be organized and disciplined. . . . Although it is the law that the greater number shall rule, yet nearly always a smaller number, voting under orders as one man, will prevail over the greater number, because the latter are divided in their counsels, and many of their voters merely offset one another by being for different men."

It is in no way surprising that the local organizations of our great national parties should exercise an influence usually paramount in municipal political contests, for it must be owned that an association of this character possesses a permanence and cohesion which no ordinary municipal party could acquire.

I should be the last to maintain that "parties" such as these are ideal instruments of government, especially of municipal government; but, while we try to make them better, or even to make them step down and out that better may fill their places, let us frankly recognize that, bad as they are, they are of some, and even of great, utility and that their removal from the sphere of city politics will leave a void, which, if not aching, may be seriously inconvenient and imperatively demand to be filled.

Amateurs in politics are an extremely useful and meritorious class; but, of all

politicians, and, I had almost said, of all men, they most need a strict discipline, and especially the discipline of adversity. A noted English statesman when asked what form of training was most useful for boys destined to public life, pointed to the twigs of a birch tree; a good sound thrashing puts more political sense into a man than all the writings of Aristotle or Machiavelli, who are so often quoted by the author of "The Boss." When the National Municipal League was formed in 1894, the Good Government Clubs of New York seemed to many sanguine friends of reform the long-sought substitute for Tammany in city politics. Strong's election sufficed, first to make them the Goo-Goos, then to consign them to merited oblivion; they were absolutely ruined, as instruments of government, by a single brilliant victory. On the other hand, our Baltimore Reform League has a record of twenty years' hard, steady, useful service to the cause of good government and pure politics, and is still stout, vigorous and respected. The Maryland Independents, of whose body it forms the nucleus, have been thrashed so often and so soundly that none of their occasional successes have availed to banish humility, charity and common sense from their intellectual equipment.

A RESULT OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

These considerations are the more material because in municipal government, and more especially in the administration of our great American cities, public men must deal with a class of problems whose attempted solution by minds untrained through experience may breed no little mischief. Our friend, Mr. Champernowne, says:

"All municipalities in this country differ in their constitution from all those that do now subsist, or that have heretofore subsisted, in any of the other countries of the earth. All these other cities, whether ancient or modern, are or have been ruled either by princes, or by nobles, or by such of the inhabitants as are either rich or at least do not count upon wages for their support.

Now when we speak of the

people we mean all the inhabitants or all the male adults. . . . But that government by such a people as this could exist in a city would probably not have seemed credible to either Aristotle or Machiavelli. For they thought that a people such as they knew could hardly be restrained from plundering the rich if it became possessed of the government; and they would have said that if the power was obtained by the very poorest, such as slaves and outlaws, the city would at once be destroyed by their excesses."

That universal suffrage in our great cities has not, in fact, led to these lamentable consequences, is undoubtedly the result of many causes; to some extent, however, it is due to certain characteristics of our politicians, which, in a measure, neutralize their more baneful qualities. They are greedy and shameless, but seldom bold, and cowardice with the bulk of them is some substitute for conscience. Moreover, a thoroughly corrupt and self-seeking class is by nature conservative. The American politician has in his mind no dangerously vague visions of general improvement for mankind; he has the perfectly definite and commonplace intention to advance his own interest, and no mirage of the imagination lures him into perilous paths in this pursuit. He is not naturally a demagogue; when he attempts the role, he is usually clumsy. and unsuccessful, because transparently insincere. To inflame and play on passions and prejudices of class or race or creed is, in truth, greater work than he is fit for; the practice of vulgar frauds and petty intrigues does not train men to be real popular leaders in mischief.

PUBLIC SERVICE UNATTRACTIVE.

Another aspect of the matter merits a moment's attention. One of the most serious objections to a democratic form of government is that it renders public service particularly distasteful to those particularly well qualified to serve the public. The usual and almost inevitable incidents of a canvass for office are repulsive to most men fitted to fill offices of moment; and the higher grades of public employment are far less profita-

ble, for honest and competent officers, than are positions of private trust of the like responsibility. The result is that first-class men usually serve the community at a sacrifice of both interest and inclination, and, in truth, under a sort of compulsion. When the party organization believes that only the nomination of such a candidate will save it from defeat and consequent loss of minor offices, it is better able to first find such a candidate and afterwards to induce him to accept its nominations than any temporary or purely local association can be. As our author says: "Loyalty is with most men stronger than reason," and one who would firmly refuse to take the trouble and incur the expense involved in seeking or holding the mayoralty because he might thus make taxes lower, streets cleaner, schools better and public servants more honest and capable, may not resist an appeal to accept that he may help the G. O. P. out of a hole.

From all that I have said it may reasonably be inferred that I believe the existing local organizations of the two national parties may be employed for certain purposes as useful agencies of municipal government; and even that, under existing conditions of political education and morals among the people of great American cities, if it were possible to do away with them altogether, the results of so doing might be disappointing and, in some cases, disastrous. It must not be supposed for a moment, however, that I am in any wise blind or tender to their faults.

Our vast political corporations are ruled each by a small inner circle of men whose stake in its operations is sufficient to have them make its control the business of their lives. Our laws are made and enforced by men who owe their official life to our professional politicians, as these constitute, for practical purposes, the two great corporations we call parties; and their rule is such as should be expected from the characteristics of men who control them.

Although fortunes are no doubt made in it, politics, regarded as a way to make money, is a poor trade. It has few attractions for men of character and ability, and such men, with rare exceptions, shun it. It is recruited from the failures and outcasts of all professions. Its lowest stratum is made up in no small measure of habitual criminals; we reform, or further debauch, our convicts by making them our rulers.

Among so many thousands a certain number of men of ability will, of course, be found. But I believe the impression that politicians are generally acute and ingenious, though untrustworthy, is wholly groundless; the vast majority of them are men of the most moderate natural abilities, and the most limited acquirements. The "bosses" are noted for skill in obtaining plunder and liberality in its distribution among their followers, while the latter believe in their patron's star, that is to say, feel confidence in his continuous ability to find them places; they adhere to him with unscrupulous fidelity; but he will be deserted in an instant if another proves, or is thought, better able to reward effective service at the people's

PARTIES UTILIZED FOR GOOD, GOVERN-MENT.

Organizations formed of such men for such purposes can be agencies of good city government only against their will, and to compel them to be such agencies is, to my mind, the immediate end of municipal reformers in America to-day. I say the immediate end, for I fully recognize that we may reasonably look forward to a time when the mass of our fellow-citizens shall have attained, through long and sad experience, a standard of enlightenment enabling them to elect a mayor or alderman for some other and better reason than his nomination as a Democrat or as a Republican; and we may also hope that when the serpent of "spoils" politics has been, not "skotched" skin deep, as at present, but killed for good, our parties themselves may become again worthy of their names and fit for their work. But, dealing, as we must, with the voters we have and the parties we know, under any ordinary circumstances, I see but one sensible course for sensible friends of good government, namely, to invite bids from both parties for their support, bids in the nomination of good men and the support of good measures, and to close with the highest bidder.

I need hardly say that I disclaim any right to speak ex cathedra, but I would have us discharge our duties as citizens in accordance with those principles of honesty and common sense which guide the fulfillment of any private trust; let us seek to obtain the best rulers we can and the best laws we can for our city, just as we seek to make the safest, most judicious and most profitable use of lands or goods placed in our keeping. In neither case can honorable and conscientious men make any bargain with iniquity; a trustee has no right to bribe an assessor that his cestui que trust may pay lower taxes, or let the trust property for a gambling hell or a brothel that the latter's income may be larger; and, in like manner, a citizen has no right, by word or act, to justify belief that he holds a scroundrel for anything else but a scoundrel.

But we must bear in mind that we are not inspired prophets entrusted with a revelation of warning to a people steeped in sin, a warning which the latter will do well to heed, but whose reception in nowise concerns us. We are men, no better or wiser than our fellows, seeking by purely human appeals to reason and conscience to make more or less of these things as we see them, and feel as we feel about what we all see. Partisanship in municipal affairs is a source of odious abuses and the abatement of its evils should be matter of grave and urgent concern to all in hearty sympathy with the principles and purposes of the National Municipal League; but its elimination is, for the moment and as things are, neither practicable nor certainly and unreservedly to be desired; and I now invite the aid of all who thus sympathize with our aims and methods to make it, if and in so far as we can make it, a source of good.

Method of Nomination to Public Office

An Historical Sketch

By Charles B. Spahr

Our public affairs have come to be administered by political parties, and yet our parties, until very recently, have been without authorization, or even recognition, in our laws. The central principle of democratic government is that the real powers controlling the people shall be under the control of the people, and therefore the popular recognition of the fact that democratic government has come to mean party government has brought with it the popular determination that party government shall be controlled by public law to serve

public ends.

In this country the center of party government and the recognized source of its authority is the primary system of selecting party candidates and determining party policies. The origin of this system is practically contempora-neous with the origin of our national struggle for independence. It is true that, according to the memoirs of Samuel Adams, as early as 1725 his father "and twenty others used to meet, make a caucus and lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power." But it was not until the years just preceding the Declaration of Independence that the North End Caucus and the South End Caucus and the Middle District Caucus of Boston obtained a position of recognized power in determining the leaders and measures of the radical democracy of the New England metropolis. Samuel Adams himself is the father of the American primary system, for only in his day did the system become anything more than an informal gathering of individuals interested in political affairs. The part borne by Samuel Adams and the North End Caucus in Revolutionary War naturally brought the institution to the attention of sympathetic spirits all over the country. What the part was is sufficiently indicated by the following citation from Frothingham's "Life and Times of Joseph Warren:" "As the time ap-

proached when the tea ships might be expected the subject was considered in the North End Caucus. . . . This body voted that they would oppose with their lives and fortunes the landing of any tea that might be sent to the town for sale by the East India Company."

SUPREMACY OF THE CAUCUS.

The caucus of Samuel Adams' day, though a much more formal and formidable organization than that out of which it had grown, was itself rather of the nature of a secret meeting of men who, by co-operation, could obtain control of the political situation. Its honorable history at the beginning was due entirely to the public-spirited type of men who organized it. Like Franklin's little "Junto," which exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to the numbers or prominence of its members, it was based upon an idea of secret co-operation, which can be used as effectively for bad ends as for good ones. The caucus was irresponsible, and in later days irresponsible caucuses came to be the most effective means of cor-

rupting public life.

In the rural districts, where all the voters know one another, the evil side of the caucus has not developed so markedly as in the local towns and cities. In nearly all such districts, not only in New England, but throughout the country, the local party caucus was at first practically a town meeting of the members of the party. The next stage in the development of the system came from the desire to enable members of the party in different districts to confer together and act as a unit. The first means through which such conferences were obtained was by means of committees of correspondence, but a little later the party members of the state legislatures and of the national Congress took it upon themselves to choose party candidates for state and national officers and assumed the general direction of party affairs. During the first two

decades of the last century the legislative and congressional caucuses were practically supreme, and it was felt that only through them could all sections be represented in party councils and all sections of the party act together in the contests with party antagonists.

Gradually, however, this instrument for party unity came to be regarded as a party tyrant. Members of each party in districts in which the opposition party was in the majority had, of course, no representatives in the state legislature or in the national Congress, and, therefore, were without direct representation in the party councils. Furthermore, it came to be felt that the legislators and congressmen were not responsive to popular feeling in the matter of nominations. In 1824 the popular sentiment aroused by the arbitrary rule of "King Caucus" was one of the important contributing causes to the defeat of the candidacy of William H. Crawford for the Presidency.

CONVENTION SUBSTITUTED FOR CAUCUS.

The substitute for the legislative and congressional caucus which democratic sentiment then demanded was the convention-a system which preserved its commanding authority in all sections for one generation, and in most sections for two. The central idea of the convention system was that the members of each party should meet locally and choose delegates to county, or senatorial, or state, or national conventions, instructing them, if thought necessary, just how they should vote in these conventions. It was a further adaptation of the representative system of government to the affairs of the party; but this method of governing party affairs, like predecessor, became more and more unsatisfactory as the years went on, as population increased, and as the desire of the people for direct control of public affairs grew stronger. The mere growth of population formed an important reason why the convention system ceased to meet the needs of the people.

DIRECT PRIMARIES.

When the population was small, the number of delegates sent to county, district or state conventions was relatively to the population large, and nearly every citizen know personally the delegate who was to represent him; but when the population increased the number of the delegates became relatively small, their personal relations to most of their constituents were remote, and the delegates came to be what the members of the legislative caucus had been before them-a small ruling class. In order, therefore, for the general electorate to regain as much control as it had formerly exercised over party affairs, it was necessary to do away with the convention system and substitute one in which the people voted directly for the men to be nominated and the measures to be supported by their party. The popularity of this reform, outside the ranks of political leaders, was, of course, in part due to the further development of the democratic spirit, which demanded that government should be directed, not by a special class of citizens, but by the whole body of citizens, in order that the interests of all, poor as well as rich, might obtain equal consideration in the party councils.

FARMERS' INDEPENDENCE.

This new spirit was most marked in the rural districts, and particularly among the substantial farmers in those districts. In the Northwest, as well as the East, the great body of such farmers, at least until the rise of the Populist party and the political revolution of 1896, were identified with the Republicans, and therefore it was in the Republican party at the North that the demand for a primary system, in which the ordinary voters should select candidates instead of merely selecting delegates to select candidates, had its first and strongest development. In the South nearly all the farmers of this independent class were identified with the Democratic party, and therefore in the South it was in the Democratic party that the demand for direct primaries had its first and strongest development.

In the South this demand was even stronger than at the North, and for this there were several reasons, the chief one being that in the South the choice of the Democratic primary is, in most

sections, sure of election, and unless ordinary citizens are given a choice in the primary, they have really no voice at allas to who shall govern them and how they shall be governed. The regular election in most parts of the South is merely a listless and perfunctory ratification of what the Democratic primary has already decided upon. It being clear, therefore, at the South, that the popular control of the primary was es-sential to popular government, the citizens of this section early began to abridge and to overthrow the power of the delegate conventions, and to require that the nominees to all responsible. offices should be chosen directly from and by the rank and file of the voters. It was in South Carolina that this system first reached logical completeness.

The triumph of the reform faction of the South Carolina Democracy in the election of 1891 was followed by the destruction of the convention system and the choice of all public officials, including United States senators, was given over to the voters at the primaries. To some extent this system in South Carolina disappointed the radical Democrats who introduced it, for it was found that the primaries were more likely to select a moderate than a radical for any place of great responsibility. But the new system, like every democratic advance, so thoroughly commended itself to the mass of the people that no one has dared to suggest a backward step From South Carolina the system of direct primaries has extended into Georgia, into Alabama, into Mississippi, into Louisiana, into Texas and into Virginia, so that to-day nearly all through the South conventions do little more than formulate platforms; the real choice of Democratic party candidates is lodged with the people of the party.

In the North the substitution of direct primaries for party conventions has developed somewhat slowly, but during the last few years the advance has been nearly as marked as at the South. Beginning, perhaps, with Crawford County, in western Pennsylvania which established direct primaries in 1860, county after county throughout the middle West adopted the plan of

having the candidates for important party nominations submit themselves to the suffrage of the voters of their party instead of being selected by conven-This system was slowly introtions. duced into cities of considerable size, and during the last decade, when the influence of the bosses and professional politicians in nearly all the cities reached a point no one concerned for popular self-government could longer tolerate, there has come strong demand all over the North that the selection of candidates by conventions must end and their selection by ordinary citizens take its place.

In Minnesota the first important. law providing for the introduction of a new system in a large city was adopted in 1899. This law was confessedly experimental, and introduced a mary system in the single county conperimental, and introduced a direct priyears later the Minnesota Legislature extended the system so that it applied to all city, county and congressional nominations throughout the commonwealth. In the Minnesota legislation the use of the Australian ballot was combined with the provision that the voters should vote directly for candidates instead of delegates, and wherever a reform primary system has been advocated in the North, the employment of a secret ballot furnished by the public authorities has been essentially a part of the system.

After its triumph in Minnesota the direct primary gathered equal popularity in the neighboring state of Wisconsin, which, a year ago, despite the antagonism of the forces which supply and handle political corporation funds, adopted the new system, provided the voters should give direct sanction to the new law at a coming election. In Michigan a direct primary system has been tried in the city of Grand Rapids, and both political parties in most parts of the state have in their platforms called for a general law establishing the system everywhere. Similar gains have been made for direct primaries in Indiana and Ohio, and even greater gains in the state of Massachusetts. At first in Massachusetts the system of direct primaries was only applied to the

selection of minor officers, but by the law, enacted a year ago, all candidates for the present state legislature are chosen directly by the voters. The example of Massachusetts and Minnesota bids fair to have a far-reaching effect upon the people of other commonwealths, as the demand for a system in which the whole electorate shall take direct part will soon be next to universal. Each step in the development of our nominating methods has been a step to make more real the control of public affairs by the whole electorate. those who believe in this American ideal instinctively give their support to every movement toward its attainment.

THE ENGLISH PRIMARY SYSTEM.

In England the primary system has had a similar development, though a much later one. There, as well as here, the primary has been the organ of democracy, and it has been peculiarly the democratic elements in society which have furthered its development. word "caucus" in England was not generally used until the early seventies, and then it was applied by the Tories as a term of reproach to the methods by which the Liberals of Birmingham organized their supporters in order to carry through the civic reforms which have given that city its international reputation, and in order to secure for the Liberal party that strong representation in Parliament for which the city of Birmingham was so long famous. The Liberals would have preferred to keep for their organization the name they themselves had chosen, "The Birm-ingham Liberal Association," for they felt keenly the discredit which had been brought upon the primary system by the abuses of this system which had been tolerated by the democracy of America, but they accepted the bad name in order to secure machinery by which common men could make their influence effective in the political life of the nation.

From the city of Birmingham the plan of entrusting the management of the Liberal party to delegates elected by the whole body of Liberal voters was soon extended to other progressive centers, and soon Mr. Gladstone formally

endorsed the National Association of Liberal Clubs, which has come to be the controlling power in all the affairs of the Liberal party. There, as here, the control of the party by the members of Parliament elected by it did not satisfy the needs of the new democracy; and a primary system, similar to the convention system which we are outgrowing, is now the means by which the party of progress in England agrees upon its programme and selects its candidates. Years after the Liberals had accepted this institution, the Conservative party unwillingly followed in its footsteps.

THE VOICE OF THE FUTURE.

Hark to the throbbing of thought
In the breast of the wakening world!
Over land, over sea it hath come!
The serf that was yesterday bought
To-day his defiance hath hurled—

No more in his slavery dumb— And to-morrow will break from the fetters that bind

And lift a bold arm for the rights of mankind!

Hark to the voice of the time!

The multitude think for themselves,
And weigh their condition, each one;
The drudge has a spirit sublime;
And whether he hammers or delves,

He reads when his labor is done; And learns though he groans under penury's ban

That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

-Charles Mackay.

A cooperative labor exchange has recently been started in Cincinnati for the purpose of saving retailer's profits by cooperative purchasing. The membership fee is \$10.00, and it is from this source that the capital is derived to operate the seheme. The exchange is buying and selling hundreds of tons of coal, and members are saved five percent on their purchases of this commodity. The intention is to enlarge the business deal in other things as soon as the success of the scheme warrants.

[&]quot;Who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, his heart to God—'Greater love hath no man than this.'"—Of Major-General Charles George Gordon, on the memorial to him in St. Paul's, London-

The Voter's Right to Select Candidates

By George W. Guthrie

The citizens of a republic are both sovereigns and subjects. In a representative republic, such as ours, their sovereignty consists in the right to govern themselves and their country by laws made and administered by public officials freely chosen by them for that purpose and responsible to them alone for the manner in which they discharge those duties; the theory being that the people who are to be subject to the laws and who will be the greatest beneficiaries of good and the greatest sufferers from evil administration, should of right have the power to control and direct their government.

But it is manifest that anything which limits or impairs the citizen's freedom of choice, or equality of power, in the selection of public officers to the same extent curtails his sovereignty; and that the existence of any power which relieves public officers of direct responsibility to the people, and can protect them from the consequences of, and at times even reward them for, official acts prejudicial to public interests or in conflict with public sentiment, destroys every vestige of indirect or moral control.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE CITIZEN.

Under such conditions the sovereignty of the citizens becomes a mere sham, and experience has shown that it is idle to hope for a continuance of honest administration (i. e., an administration in which all the powers of government are exercised solely for the best interests of the whole people).

Freedom of choice and direct responsibility to the people are absolutely essential alike to government by the people and honest administration. If popular government is to be preserved and is to furnish an administration which will honestly, faithfully and efficiently fulfill those great ends for which governments were established among men,

the people must be vigilant at all times to prevent any custom or statutory regulation which will, in the slightest degree, impair the operation of these two essential principles.

In this, theory and experience both agree; and what has been said applies with equal force to every department of government, National, State and Municipal

At present, however, we are concerned only with the municipal department; but there is no department of government which comes closer to the people—in which the benefits of good and the evils of bad administration more quickly and intimately affect the people concerned—or in which the power of the people to select their own officers and control their acts is more important.

Now every intelligent citizen who fairly considers the actual (not the theoretical) political system which prevails in this country, and in no department with greater effect than in the municipal, knows that it materially restricts the power of the people in the choice of, and impairs their subsequent control over, their officers.

MONOPOLIZING THE OFFICIAL BALLOT.

Morover, the State, by the adoption of an official ballot, now so general, has greatly increased the ability of the "boss" or "machine," once invested with power, to perpetuate it

If the State gives a place on the ballot to a political party and a "boss," or a "machine," or an "organization" which has the right and power to select the candidate whose name shall occupy that place, evidently the State grants the "boss" or "machine" or "organization" (the title is immaterial) a monopoly in the use of the party name and the support of the public policy for which that name stands.

Manifestly, such a monopoly is un-

reasonable; it is absurd that any set of citizens should be given a copyright on

any public policy.

If a policy is a public one and beneficial to the public, it should be open to the support of every person who approves it, without being obliged to accept, as the price of being permitted to do so, a candidate in the selection of whom he had no share.

If, on the other hand, the policy is a private one, the association to promote it should be stamped as a conspiracy against public order and unworthy of any public recognition, instead of being

protected by law.

Consider for a moment our present political system as it affects both the liberty of the citizens and the interests of the community.

EXCLUSIVE POWER TO NOMINATE.

Certain associations of citizens (each regulating for itself the terms and conditions on which membership in it can be acquired and maintained and the manner in which its will shall be ascertained and declared) have exclusive power to select the candidates who shall represent at the general election the public policy over which the respective associations claim and are given a monopoly.

In some of these associations and in some localities the members at large are accorded an opportunity to express their wishes in the selection of candidates, the primaries being sometimes honest and sometimes fraudulent, but always confined to those who are "regular;" in others, the members at large have no powers and the selection is made by delegates or committees, and

sometimes by a single person.

The candidates thus selected are placed upon the ballot as the exclusive representatives of the public policy for which the respective associations stand, and a vote for or against them at the election is a vote for or against that

Now, under this system, what share in the government has the citizen? He has had no share in the selection of the candidates, and yet if he participates in the election he must make a choice.

In order to show his approval of a policy which he thinks wise and beneficial for his country he must agree to accept as his candidate a man in whose selection he had no share, who may be personally very objectionable to him, and whom he may believe to be unfit for the office for which he is to be chosen; or in order to defeat this candidate he must vote for some other one whom he may believe very worthy but in whose selection he has had no share. and whose election will be the endorsement and introduction of a policy which he believes to be prejudicial to his coun-

Is such a choice of evils worthy of a free citizen in a free country?

AND WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The ballot is the instrument through which the sovereignty of the people is given effect. The State has the right and duty to protect the ballot from fraud of every kind and from anything which might obstruct the free expression of popular will through it, or impair the equality of each citizen's share in, or opportunity to use, it. Legislation to promote these ends is right and proper and should unhesitatingly be resorted to from time to time as need arises.

But beyond this, the State cannot go without violating the principles upon which our institutions rest. Any invasion of the liberty, purity, or equality of the ballot by an individual or association of individuals is a crime, and such an invasion by the State is tyranny.

No legislation, therefore, should be attempted which directly or indirectly impairs or limits the choice of the people in the selection of their officers. We may consider their choice wise or unwise, but the right to make it is theirs, and they should have the power to use it.

A just government exists for the equal benefit of all the people and the protection of their rights. As the people are its beneficiaries, so they are the safest custodians of its powers.

No sincere believer in a government by the people will ever tolerate, and no honest one will ever excuse, anything which destroys, or unnecessarily hampers, the power of the people to control their government at every step.

Bearing in mind the incompatibility of present methods with the power of the people to govern and control their city, and with the integrity of municipal administration, and with the proper limitations on the power of the State to act, let us see what statutory regulations are necessary and proper to guarantee to each citizen that free and equal share in the selection of public elective officers which is requisite to insure that the officer chosen shall represent and be accountable to, not a "boss" or a "machine," but the general body of citizens advocating and supporting the policy for which he stood as candidate.

The State fixes the time for the general municipal election, and it fixes it at a date believed to be most convenient for all citizens; why, then, should it not do the same thing in regard to the preliminary elections which are to determine who are to compete for public offices as the representatives of the public policy for the furtherance of which parties exist, instead of permitting these important preliminary elections to be changed from time to time to suit the convenience or advantage of some candidate or some organization which, however it may arrogate to itself the title, is certainly not the party?

There is no sufficient reason (i. e., there is no reason so far as the interests of the people themselves are concerned) why there should not be a fixed date for all such preliminary municipal elections; for, whether called "primaries" or by some other name, they are elections. Of course, the date should be fixed at a reasonable time in advance of the general election, and with proper regard to the habits and business of the people: but these are questions which the Legislature is designed to consider and, if truly representative of the people, is well qualified to decide.

Particular interests might be inconvenienced and private schemes prejudiced, but the interests of the people themselves (the only ones worthy of consideration) would not be in the

slightest degree impaired; for, having notice of the date, the people would make their arrangements accordingly, just as they do for the general election.

Neither is there any sufficient reason why the preliminary elections of all "parties"-if we use "party" in its true sense as meaning all citizens holding common views as to the public policy which they desire introduced and carried out in the conduct of the municipal government—should not be held at the same place, on the same day, and under public supervision, while there are many and controlling reasons for the adoption of such a course. It is sufficient to point out that it would save unnecessary and useless expense to the State and that, because the members of each party would be engaged in the choice of their own party candidate, it would reduce to a minimum the danger of those of one party interfering with the selection of the candidate of another; nor would there be any more danger of confusion and disturbance at such joint preliminary municipal elections than at the following general municipal elections.

And, as these preliminary nominating elections will continue to have an important and controlling influence in the government, and as the State does protect and give effect to the action of political parties, it is right and proper for it to take due precaution against the commission of frauds, rather than restrict itself to the investigation and correction of them after commission, which is always difficult and often impossible.

ELECTORS' RIGHT TO NOMINATE.

But no regulation should be permitted, either by the State of by an "organization," which would exclude from participation in the preliminary election any citizen who has the right to vote at the ensuing municipal election.

There are three reasons for this, all of which are unanswerable.

In the first place, as already pointed out, the only legitimate and proper purpose for which "parties" exist is the introduction and execution of a certain policy in public administration by the election of officials agreed upon in ad-

vance by those who approve and support that policy; therefore, it would be absurd for the law to give any limited or restricted number of citizens a monopoly in an exclusive right to use and advocate a certain public policy; yet, for the State to give any body of citizens, less than the whole, an exclusive right to select the candidate or candidates who shall represent such policy at the election, is to give them such a monopoly and protect it by law.

In the second place, the proper purpose of political parties, and the only one which the State can recognize or which makes them beneficial agencies of popular government, is that they enable citizens who agree upon a common political policy also to agree among themselves in advance of the election on the candidate most satisfactory to them to represent that policy, and who, if elected, will be pledged to carry it out in the administration of public affairs. And, as at the general election, every citizen will not only have the right to vote for the election of the candidate so selected to represent the policy, but will be solicited to do so (i. e., to join the party then), he should have a voice in that selection (i. e., be allowed to join the party in advance of the election) if he desires it.

The question to be settled at the preliminary nominating election is which of the persons seeking to be a candidate upon a certain platform of principles is the choice of the greater number of the citizens who support that platform; and that can only be ascertained by permitting every citizen who approves and desires to support it to express his choice by voting at the preliminary nominating election which settles the question.

In the third place, no test has ever been devised which, in its application, does not either violate the constitutional rights of the citizens or exact from them a pledge which they have no right to give, and which no one should be permitted to ask.

The ordinary tests are proof by the citizen that he voted for the candidate of the organization at a previous elec-

tion, or a more or less specific pledge by him that he now holds a particular set of political opinions, and that at the approaching election he will support the candidate chosen, or both.

SECRECY OF BALLOT NULLIFIED.

We do not now recall any State constitution which does not guarantee to its citizens a secret ballot; but of what avail is this constitutional guarantee if a citizen must, before he can participate in a nominating election, disclose how he voted at a previous general election? Either the secrecy of the ballot must be thrown aside, or the right to participate in nominating candidates for public offices abandoned.

So sacred and so important is this secrecy of the ballot that the State will not require a lawful voter to disclose, even in a judicial proceeding, how he voted; how, then, could it permit the exaction of such disclosure by a self-constituted political "organization" as a condition of a citizen's right to take part in the selection of candidates for public offices?

And every right-minded citizen, who gives the matter an impartial consideration, will admit that no citizen has the right to give, and no "organization" has the right to ask, a pledge which will bind him in the future exercise of his right of suffrage.

When he casts his ballot, it is the citizen's right, and his duty to himself and the State, to vote acording to the honest dictates of his conscience; and it is against the highest public policy to permit him to be compelled, for any reason, to give a pledge, which, if kept, might prevent him from doing so.

Moreover, the danger of the supporters of one policy interfering in the choice of the candidate of the supporters of another policy, unless tests of this character are provided, is more fanciful than real.

None but a very dishonest citizen would do this. It is well known that such an one is not restrained, if a sufficient inducement is offered him, by any such tests or pledges; and, on the other hand, they prevent the citizen who holds the secrecy of his ballot in high

respect from taking part in the primary. Under the separate primary plan, there is the greater opportunity for and greater inducement to dishonesty, as there is the greater opportunity for profit from it. It is notorious that, under the separate primary plan, the henchman of ostensibly hostile political managers often participate "under orders" in the primary of the opposite party. Thus rival "bosses" by working in harmony may each help the other to control.

ALL VOTERS PARTICIPATE.

Where the preliminary nominating election is freely participated in by all voters, each would know that, if he voted with the supporters of a policy to which he was opposed, he would lose his chance of voting in the selection of his own candidate, an inducement to honesty which is wanting when separate primaries are used.

Where any political movement has developed into a strong popular following, the State has the right to ascertain, and should ascertain, who is in fact the choice of a majority of those professing allegiance to the movement before being required to certify to it by printing his name on the official ballot as the movement's candidate for public office; being careful, however, that the laws provided for that purpose do not give any preference to one party over another, or impose any obstacles to new movements.

With these limitations, public policy and the liberty of the citizens both require that in the formation of the official ballot the same liberty and equality shall be preserved as existed when citizens prepared and voted their own ballot. For the State to do more is to hamper, rather than assist and protect, the people in the exercise of their most solemn right, the right upon which the sovereignty of citizenship itself depends.

It may be asked what right has the State to prevent citizens organizing on any lines they see fit to adopt, and conducing their business and selecting their candidates in any manner they see fit to adopt, so long as the purpose for

which they organize is not prejudicial to public policy?

FREE ASSOCIATION UNIMPAIRED.

The answer is that the State is not asked to do anything of the kind. The act proposed will not interfere with the liberty of association: it only prevents any such association monopolizing a public policy which may be of great public benefit. Citizens will still be free to organize as they see fit, and to put any name or names on the official ballot they desire, by petition. This is their right and is preserved by the very letter of the act: but the stamp of the "organization" will no longer be necessary to get a candidate's name on the ballot as the representative of a public policy, and thereby make the election necessary of the "organization's" candidate to secure the adoption of or adherence to such policy in public administration.

Every supporter of the policy would have a fair opportunity and an equal share in the selection of the candidate on whom they would unite. No citizen would be contented with less: none should be permitted to have more.

It is the purpose of the proposed act to recommend the introduction of these principles in the field of municipal government, where, as already pointed out, the rights of the citizen, both as sovereign and subject, are of such vital importance. We believe that its effect will be to develop local public opinion in regard to the local government, and secure a free and honest expression of it.

Under it, before the State can print the candidate's name upon an official ballot for the municipal election as the representative of a certain public policy, a reasonable opportunity will be given to ascertain; first, whether that policy is sustained by a sufficient number of citizens to justify its further consideration at the time; and, second, whether the candidate whose name is to go on the ballot as the representative of the policy is truly and honestly the free choice of the citizens who support that policy as the man best fitted and most suited to them for representing those views as

a candidate and carrying them out as a public officer, if selected.

Through the opportunity it affords for an official polling of the vote in favor of any given set of political principles, the strength or weakness of their support by local public opinion is clearly demonstrated; and through the absolutely open and fair competition it insures between candidates who profess the same set of principles, it ascertains beyond question which candidate has the greater popular support, and is, therefore, best entitled to be recognized as their representative. In this way, without interfering in any way with political organizations, and without in any way giving any statutory preference or

preponderance to organizations or to individuals, it guarantees that each citizen may, by a secret ballot, not only give a free, untrammeled expression to his opinion upon any public policy which he desires considered or enforced in the conduct of the local government, but may participate freely and effectively in the choice of the candidate for public office who is pledged to that policy, if elected.

The enactment and enforcement of such a law protects, defends and enforces the sovereignty of the citizen, and should make him the willing and loyal subject of the government he helps to establish.

The Drift Toward Industrial Unionism

By Ethelbert Stewart

The most unpleasant feature of strict trade unionism is that as mechanical arts and appliances advance the trade lines become less distinct and too much energy is lost in quarreling over work. The trade union movement in England has had a long and bitter experience with this tendency within itself, and is for most part accepting industrialism, or the organization of all workmen in an industry into one union regardless of trade lines, as the ultimate solution of the problem. It seems to be at least the inevitable next step toward an ultimate solution. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers includes everything in the machinery industry except the boilermakers. The English unions were compelled to become industrial by their own "demarcation," or, as we would say, "jurisdictional" fights. The secretary of the Shipwrights' Association in England makes no concealment of the fact that the difficulties his union has with employers are far less frequent and less serious than the trouble with other unions over "demarcation disputes."

UNION OF ALLIED TRADES.

Industrial unionism means the organ-

ization of all the workmen in an industry into one union without regard to their trade or occupation in that industry. Strict trade unionism, when "hewing to the line," means the organization of all persons working at a closely defined trade or occupation into one union without regard to the industry in which they work. The United Mine Workers is a good instance of an "industrial" union. Here the wages are fixed by one agreement for blacksmiths, carpenters, machine runners, miners, drivers, top and bottom laborers, cagers, etc., the ultimate aim being to bring the entire force of productive employes in the industry into one organization. This may be done by amalgamation, as in the case of the United -Brewery Workers and the United Mine Workers, or by the federation of trade unions, as in case of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the Longshoremen and others, which, while they are trade unions at the base, are industrial at the top; and this is perhaps the essence of "industrialism," that it gives a central organization covering the entire industry power to veto a strike by any segregation of workmen, as a sin-

gle trade, in that industry, and, on the other hand, when it does order a strike, can reach every occupation and trade in the industry. It changes the allegiance of the individual workman from his trade organization to his industry by giving the latter jurisdiction not only over the former, but over him. The articles of confederation gave the continental congress no power over the individual, who still remained only a citizen of his state; but the constitution makes each individual a citizen first of the United States, and his state citizenship is a very secondary matter. So strong was the old colonial idea of state citizenship, however, that even in 1860 many men who disapproved of secession said: "My state first, though wrong, I will go with my state." This is precisely the anachronous situation in labor organizations to-day; and in their attempt to solve their difficulties it would seem the tendency is to follow the line of our political development, and give to an industry practically supreme power over the trade.

RESULT OF SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

Up to the present time the industrial unions in the United States have for the most part been driven into this form of organization as a result of opposition to the sympathetic strike. The United Mine Workers, the Longshoremen, the Brewery Workers' Union, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the American Flint Glass Workers-these were industrialized principally by dint of the difficulties surrounding the sympathetic or combined action of different organizations formed on narrow or strict trade lines. The innumerable conflicts between unions over questions of jurisdiction are resulting in a further and more inevitable consolidation, and industrialization of organization. world outside of unionism was startled by President Gompers' address to the American Federation of Labor a year ago in New Orleans, in which he called attention to the "fratricidal war" among unions, and made a noble plea for some settlement consistent with strict trade unionism. The convention ordered several such settlements which the unions involved refused to make, and in November, 1903, Mr. Gompers felt called upon to say to the Boston convention:

GOMPERS' PLEA FOR PEACE.

"It becomes my painful duty to again call attention to the very grave danger which confronts our movement by reason of the internecine strife due to the conflicting claims to jurisdiction. Owing to the acuteness of this question last year, the New Orleans convention made most strenuous efforts to bring about a solution of the various conflicting claims then made. Had all the organizations affected yielded in good faith to the suggestions made and conclusions reached, that convention would have fully merited the tribute ascribed to it and which it deserved in being designated the "peace convention" of the labor movement. In not many instances, however, have the organizations departed from their original claims, while several others, by their violation of their pledges to that convention to cease hostilities and to abide by the awards of impartial arbitration or of decisions reached by the convention itself, have rendered conditions, if possible, still worse. In fact, in some trades, where no conflicts existed, the organizations have deliberately changed their claims to jurisdiction with no better reason than that "other organizations have extended their claims," they therefore saw no reason why their own claims to jurisdiction should not also be extended, thus demonstrating that when a wrong policy is once inaugurated its evil influences are extended until the gravest consequences and dangers confront the entire labor movement. The trade unions are the natural movement of the wage earners to protect and advance their interests. The workers of the craft or calling associate the better to protect and promote these interests."

Again, he said in the same address:

"It is not an uninteresting fact to state that there were applications from one or more international unions for the revocation of the charters of thirty international unions, and some of the complaining organizations were really

disappointed that their requests were not granted. With the executive council I would have no hesitancy in revoking the charter of any affiliated organization, but to do so there would have to be good and substantial reasons therefor and no other means at hand by which the best interests of labor could be served. No doubt had the executive council easily yielded to the demands for the revocation of charters we should have had still more demands of the same character, and instead of having the best general organization of labor our country has ever had we would be divided up into fragments contending in open fratricidal war against each other, instead of co-operating in a faithful, honest and intelligent effort to accomplish the best results with the least domination."

This is an irrepressible conflict, for the reason that those who are seeking to widen the scope of unionism are compelled in their action by the logic of events, while the "hew-to-the-liners" are compelled either absurdly to multiply the organizations or cease to be strict trade unionists themselves. Let us illustrate by a few examples.

ALLIED METAL TRADES.

The Allied Metal Mechanics claim the right to organize and hold jurisdiction over blacksmiths' helpers. Blacksmiths' Union contest this claim. Naturally the Allied Metal Mechanics' Union wants all the occupation not otherwise provided for in its organization, to the end that all may be organized. Naturally the blacksmith does not want his helper, whom he is daily and hourly educating and training to become a blacksmith, to be in an organization the blacksmiths could not control in case of a strike. But if the Blacksmiths' Union admits the helper to membership it ceases to be a strict trade union, while to insist upon a separate union of helpers involves too much, since the drop-forger and the "bulldozer" machine-blacksmith or would have the same claim to separate unions, and there would simply be no end to it. It is simply impossible to tell whether the drop-forger or the

"bulldozer" is a blacksmith or a machinist. The "bulldozer" is a man who heats bars or pieces of iron cut to length, and when hot puts them into a machine or shaper called a "bulldozer," and which presses the heated iron into the shape desired. Like the drop-forger he works a machine, but the product of the machine is blacksmiths' work. In a blacksmiths' strike what could not be done by drop-forgers or "bulldozers"enough "helpers" could be found to do to break the strike. A blacksmiths' union which does not contain all of these is treading on very thin ice, one that does is hardly a "hew-to-the-liner." The trouble with the slogan, "hew to the line," is that it is impossible to find the line in trades to-day, and in the search for the trade line the unions have gone to hewing each other.

IN THE PRINTING TRADES.

Again, Mr. Higgins of the Printing Pressmen's Union is right in wanting the helpers and pressfeeders in his organization; the inconsistency is in opposing at once a pressfeeders' strict trade union, and an industrial organization which should include all employes in the printing industry. The recent action of the International Typographical Union, and the agreement of the Allied Printing Trades Council with other and non-affiliated unions in the industry show the trend in this industry is toward a unification of organizations. Ever since the International Machinists' Union had to give up the linotype-machinist to the Typographical Union the handwriting on the wall here has been plain. And why should not the pressfeeder, who can take the pressman's position at any moment in a strike, be in the Pressmen's Union? And since all in an industry are employed by one employer, and these employers all in one employers' association, why should not the instincts of self-preservation equally consolidate the unions? In a machine shop of modern proportions there are iron molders, boilermakers, blacksmiths, machinists, each with their helpers; buffers and polishers, assemblers, stationary engineers and firemen, crane men, each with a separate organization, some jealous of each other and all held apart by the bogey of "the sympathetic strike," yet all under one employer.

BUILDING TRADES CENTRALIZING.

In the building trades especially industrialism seems about to be forced upon the unions. The employers' associations are composed of contractors in every branch of building acting as a unit. The new national association of contractors, practically pledged to destroy unions, will have forty-four distinct and jealous organizations to combat, playing one against the other. If, however, these were one the union could take contracts to build and compete directly with their locking-out former employers, as is now done in Paris and many places in Belgium. The owner who now lets to a general contractor, who sublets the parts, cannot and will not let his building to forty-four unions in the building trades; whereas he could and many times would let to an industrial union, which, acting as the general contractor, could from its various sub-organizations furnish the labor for all the parts of a building. There seems to be no other solution of the endless jurisdictional fights that come from changing methods of work and continuous fading of some trade lines and creation of new ones.

The New York bricklayers who never become sympathetic and have not affiliated or had a strike for years, struck last fall to control the work of fireproofing. Naturally the manufacturers and users of this material wanted to classify it as a new trade so as to secure lower wages. From a strict "hew-to-the-liners" point of view they were right; but the bricklayers could see the point when it came home to

SYMPATHETIC ASSOCIATION.

Industrialism seems also to be the only practical way to help the weaker occupations in an industry without resort to strikes. Sympathetic help will be an essential part of any uplifting movement so long as any segment of the race is lower or less prosperous than

the rest. Trade unionism, inspired with somewhat of the spirit of other helpfulness, will become mere clubism when it yields up that spirit. The apotheosis of Arthur may be made into a Constantine for de unionism; but the soul's sympathies cannot be destroyed, and the strength of weakness lies in the sympathetic human heart which will "strike" if necessary so long as it beats. When sympathetic association has lifted those of a single trade up to a point where they can afford to be simply selfish, then is the spirit of "other-helpfulness" again crucified, as per order of the Pharisees and must cuddle once more in the souls of the poorer ones until it can associate another group, lift them up and be again cast out. But must this go on forever? Will there never be room at the inn? Those on the outside and on the inside who condemn trade unions for being "sympathetic" should pause. Are there not enough agencies teaching self-helpfulness in its most diabolical form? Can we not afford to let one organization teaching "other-helpfulness" exist?

The Boston convention of the American Federation requested the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics, the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union. the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union and the United Metal Workers' International Union to hold a conference in January for the purpose of adjusting their differences regarding jurisdiction. If the conference cannot adjust the matter the executive council will define the line of

demarcation.

The trouble is the Federation has no power to enforce its mandates and the unions will not always obey. The International Association of Machinists is taking a bolder step, however, and during January voted on a proposition to consolidate with the Allied Metal Mechanics and the later organization has called a constitutional convention to provide for industrialism should the machinists' proposition carry. The three organizations in the clothing industry; the "Special Order Clothing Makers' Union," the "United Garment Workers of America," and the "Journeyman Tailors' Union of America" have begun the work of merging into an industrial union. The leaders of the principal national building trades have already held two meetings to outline a federation which will probably lead gradually to the industrialization of the building trades unions.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Cattle Butchers have made such arrangements with the carpenters, painters and other trades in the Stock Yards of the country that all are represented in a common council, which amounts practically to industrialism, although it is not admitted to be such. There can be no doubt that the trend of the times is toward the industrial form of unionism; and many sincere and well informed men believe that the greatest strength and greatest peace for labor, and the greatest gain to industry and commerce lies in that direction.

The Evils of The Intelligence Office

By Myrta Leonora Jones Editor College Settlements Association

The investigation of employment agencies, begun in 1902 by Miss Frances A. Kellor as a fellow of the College Settlements Association, is about completed and the formal report is being prepared. Miss Kellor has had the fellowship for two years, has investigated 732 employment agencies in the capacity of employer, employe and as a purchaser of offices, and positions have been accepted in homes to learn the conditions into which offices send girls. Four cities have been covered-Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and New Yorkand eight assistants have contributed to the thoroughness of the work. It was Miss Kellor's belief that no one could go openly and avowedly as an investigator and accomplish much, but that as a patron or applicant for a position all reasonable inquiries would be answered.

It is a well-known fact that the supply of servants is, in most parts of our country, quite inadequate to meet the demand. This is especially true in the case of general housework, for only the less desirable girls and the new arrivals go willingly into this branch of housework, which is less skilled and not so well paid as that of waitress, maid, cook or laundress. Out of New York's

three hundred intelligence offices which supply domestic servants, one-third of them depend almost entirely upon the foreign-born, or upon American-born children of foreign parents for their supply, while another third depend entirely upon "greenhorns" or new arrivals who know little or no English.

A classification and description of all offices visited has been made. Many of those dealing with the less skilled classes of domestic servants are found in tenements, basements, saloons and living rooms without other equipment than that needed for the home. Visitors to these offices seldom think of the significance of the surroundings, and the reader of the foregoing statement may at this point inquire why tenements are undesirable headquarters for this purpose?

First of all, there can be no efficient regulation of such offices. The young and the old, the newcomer and the old-timer, the intoxicated and the sober, the clean and the dirty, the good and the bad, mingle together and occupy the same rooms. Furthermore, a lodging-house feature is a frequent accompaniment of these agencies, as was found to be true of more than one hundred of those in New York alone, more

than a third of the entire number. Men and women are lodged in rooms separated by meager partitions, and in one room fifteen girls were found huddled together on the floor upon old clothing and mattresses. Aside from the awful effects upon the girls themselves, can employers afford to accept women for service who come from such dirty, disease-laden, vermin-infested places as these offices and lodging-houses? Employers who patronize better offices may turn aside, feeling it is not their problem, but they can never be sure that a girl has not been the rounds. It is certain that the grade of women in household work can never be materially raised so long as workers are recruited from such sources.

In one hundred and nine offices of the city of New York, the law requiring every proprietor of an employment bureau to give to each person from whom a fee was accepted a receipt stating the amount paid is constantly violated, for in the offices to which I refer no records are kept. There is no equipment of any kind, not even ink in many cases with which to write a receipt. The investigation into business methods has included an inquiry into the amount and payment of fees and has taken up the question of references, the effect of the office in teaching idleness and dishonesty, and as dictators of wages and controllers of supply.

Unquestionably the treatment in offices drives girls, especially the better class, out of household service. Girls in waiting have said: "We are treated like dogs in this office; no wonder we would rather go to factories. Nobody cares for a girl here except for her money. You do not have to pay to get into stores." Another said: "You know where you are going when it is a factory wants ye." Still another said she had spent a good part of a year looking for housework through an office and then in a day got a job in a factory for nothing.

In many offices it is found to be the practice to send girls into disreputable places. "The surroundings, the business methods and the frauds pale into insignificance," says the investigator,

"besides the conscious and deliberate immorality of many offices, the traps which they set for the unwary, and the helplessness of their victims. The bare fact is, that while appearing to obtain work for honest and ignorant women, they do, in fact, degrade, debase and ruin them and later cast them out physical and moral lepers. Not only are these women robbed of their small savings, herded like animals and subjected to many indignities from office keepers, but they must submit to association with immoral men and women and to temptation by them."

You have heard of the slave trade, you rebel at the vestiges of slavery that crop up in the South, but in our large seaport towns exists a very real and absolute slavery system, the essential fact of which is the "runner." "A girl who knows not one word of English lands in complex, bewildering New York, straight from a peasant's home in Russia, Hungary or Sweden. A 'runner' meets her and wins her trust by his helpfulness or by his familiarity with her home and friends. From that moment she is as helpless as though engulfed in a sea. Her luggage is sent to an intelligence office or to a boardingand preposterous charges made for board." No girl can place in collusion with it; here it is held, No girl can spend much time in such a place and remain honest and truthful. She is coached to lie about her age and capabilities, about her habits and where she has worked, and is taught how to answer questions. Every day she sees the office breaking contracts and promises and certainly has no ideals either of honesty or constancy set before her.

There is no question so common among employers as "Why cannot we obtain servants?" When agencies receive from five dollars upward for girls furnished to disreputable houses, when the demand from these establishments is so great that a conservative estimate shows that in New York alone some 10,000 women are turned aside into these places yearly, one answer to the above question is given. "Do you mean that girls are sent to questionable houses without their knowledge?" is a question

often asked Miss Kellor. Her reply is, "We have found some offices which have openly advised us not to tell the girls for what kind of a place we wanted them, but many offices work out methods which better protect themselves. Girls unwilling to enter such houses are sent first as servants, not inmates, and after a term spent there in the midst of vice and intemperance, they are more amenable to suggestions. Then these houses are described to ignorant or immigrant girls in such attractive colors and as presenting so much ease and money, that a girl says she is willing to go, totally ignorant of what she is going to."

Miss Kellor points out that by the time any society or friendly visitor gets hold of a girl who has been through the teachings and temptations of such an "The office, office, it is often too late. through its runner, ever keeps an eye on the girl." This problem must be met by thorough knowledge of the facts, constant watchfulness and competition. No corps of friendly visitors, no agent of any society, no amount of missionary care meets the situation. Only an employment agency and lodging-house for women out of work, situated in the very heart of the district where these offices are, thoroughly cognizant of every method they employ, itself employing honest trained "runners," can even partly meet the need. Just so long as any organization cares only for girls who have gone astray and attempts no preventive work, it practically says to these offices: "Go ahead with your work, we will care for the human wrecks for which you are responsible." These offices cannot be closed without providing substitutes No uptown "home" will meet the need.

Miss Kellor rescued a young girl about sixteen years of age, who was sold to a disreputable house for ten dollars. She could not speak a word of English, had just eight cents and her little bundle of clothes and had waited all day in the office without food. It was night, and in despair of finding her a place to stay Miss Kellor took her to one of the uptown homes, where she was told that

they would take the girl if she was thoroughly respectable. This story is related, not in criticism of the home, but to emphasize "the need of an accessible shelter, unhampered by red tape, to which girls may be sent in emergencies and where the unemployed may wait and may be helped not only to find work, but to return to the path from which even the most intelligent might be led by the cunning devices and nefarious system of such offices."

Miss Kellor has addressed many letters to housekeepers in order to learn their views of the servant question, and it is plain that not only must the intelligence offices themselves improve, but the conditions of domestic employment as well, before real progress can be made. The employe should receive her due as to personal liberty. Her sleeping quarters should be separated at least by a screen from her companions, if greater privacy is impossible. She should have half a day a week for her own purposes and every other Sunday free, and these and other holidays owed to maids should not be given grudgingly. Servants should not be deprived of all their evenings by late dinners. They should be allowed to receive callers at stated times and have some place provided beside the kitchen where they can do so. Unless all this is looked into and observed, decent, self-respecting women will not "hire out," as they call it.

The proprietors of well-regulated and well-conducted offices should, for their own protection, stand ready to co-operate with those seeking to reform the most flagrant abuses in this business of employment agencies, and they are, to a certain extent, doing so. As a result of Miss Kellor's investigation, a bill has been introduced into the New York Legislature, which is quite an ideal one, and will, if passed, regulate many existing evils. It provides for the proper licensing of such places, prohibits offices located in rooms used for living purposes and on premises where boarders are kept. It also demands the keeping

Note.—An attempt is already being made by Jewish women to carry out this suggestion on the lower east side in New York. of proper registers, regulates the question of fees, and provides means for the enforcement of the act through a commissioner, who shall make bimonthly visits of inspection to every such employment agency in the city. This will prove a great factor for good, as are already the free employment agencies and the immigrant homes. But when all is said and done, the great need is for co-operation among all the forces working for betterment in this line. Miss Kellor in a recent article

in "Charities" suggests an organization acting as a clearing house, which, by efficient business methods can wrest this supply of inexperienced newcomers from the disreputable offices and place them in good positions. It must understand their methods and meet them by equally efficient but *honest* ones. But before this can be done, on any adequate scale, an enlightened public sentiment must be created, and this can only be brought about by spreading widely the knowledge of existing evils.

The Movement For Neighborhood Social Halls

By William English Walling

Contributed through the Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York City

In the heart of the east side and facing the plaza at the entrance to the new Brooklyn bridge there has arisen a five-story structure that is perhaps more beautiful inside and out than any other building, public or private, in the great Jewish quarter. This building is Clinton Hall, the first result of the campaign of the Social Halls Association against the demoralizing dance halls of the east side that became known to the whole world during the agitation against the red-lights three years ago.

CLINTON HALL.

The building itself is an entirely new departure in the tenement section. Its graceful, yet substantial, colonial architecture in red brick with stone facings contrasts strongly with the awkward and artificial efforts at ornamentation of the other halls. Inside the contrast is even more striking. The hundred east side halls that furnish the only available meeting places for large social gatherings of the people, of whatever nature, are invariably connected with saloons. Their very entrances are illsmelling and disagreeable. Inside they are dirty, poorly ventilated and poorly In all cases the efforts at decoration would have been better omitted. There are no elevators; to save space, no room has been left for corridors. The whole impression these institutions give is repulsive, even when lighted up in the evenings and filled with their holiday crowds. Nothing is more depressing than to visit one of them in the absence of festivities.

Clinton Hall is bright, clean and attractive. There has been no economy of space at the expense of light and air. The staircases are wide and easy. The wainscoating is marble, the floors mosaic, the decorations light and simple, but always gay in their colorings. There are large elevators, a luxury not to be found in any other such building in the section. The cloak rooms and women's and men's rooms are clean and commodious. The building fails to remind one that it was constructed to fill the same functions as those gloomy barracks where the people of the east side have hitherto been forced to have their weddings, dances, banquets and entertainments and meetings of all kinds.

WHERE THE REAL LIFE OF TENEMENT DWELLERS IS SHAPED.

The social halls movement is an expression of the deep and growing con-

viction, among those who know east side conditions, that the influences which do the most to shape the character of the people are to be found neither in the sweatshops nor in the tenements, but in the places that provide for the social life of the people.

The observer of east side life knows that the speed and intensity of sweatshop work is such that there is hardly time for thought and none for social intercourse. The hours spent over the machine are dreary, grinding monotony, that mean nothing to the workers but the earning of their bread. All the improvement of sweatshop conditions through better factory laws, consumers' leagues and union labels scarcely touch the higher life. In making for better health and more leisure, better sanitary conditions and shorter hours are also paying the way for all the other benefits that depend on health and leisure; but the question still remains as to how the workers spend their leisure, and whether higher development actually does follow physical opportunities.

Again, the real life of the majority of the people is not that of the tenements. With the density of overcrowding on the east side, greater than that of any quarter in the world, it is impossible to make home life attractive. To say nothing of the unhealthiness and dinginess of the tenements, the number of people living in a few rooms make it impossible for the young and active members of the family to lead a normal existence there. The result is that only the mothers, the youngest children, the old people and the invalids are to be found continuously in the home. The rest use it principally for eating and

sleeping purposes.

The men when not at work are to be found at synagogue, cafe and political meeting. The children spend the larger part of their life outside of school hours on the streets.

DEMAND FOR RECREATION EXCEEDS THE GOOD SUPPLY.

As in every other part of our country, the young people who have grown out of childhood spend their evenings in education or amusing themselves. There is the keenest desire and ambition for education, fostered by the parents, but, after all the commercial, technical, normal and evening schools are filled, as well as the city college and the law and medical schools, there is a vast surplus of young people who must find other expenditures for their time. Not only are sufficient educational facilities lacking, but the great majority of the population work so hard during the day that the desire for and need of amusement takes precedence over all Of the others when evening comes. hundred thousand young people on the east side, perhaps a thousand who have their evenings free are provided for by the settlements. The rest must depend on those amusements that it pays the owners of halls, cafes and saloons to offer them. It is these young people that the social halls aim specially to to reach.

Among the young men there is some interest in bowling or pool, but neither of these are to be obtained except through the saloon, and the man that bowls or handles a cue is expected to drink. The interest in politics and trade unions is very general but hardly a political or trade union meeting can be held except in a hall adjoining a saloon or over one, and the rates charged to the organization are inversely in proportion to the amount of drinking done. Intemperance is almost a new evil among the Jews. There is little natural tendency in that direction in the ghettoes of eastern Europe, from which most of them come. It is the necessity for social life and recreation that is being exploited to teach the young men habits of intemperance and ruin.

Drinking is also creeping into the cafes. Nearly all the larger cafes have procured either a malt or a general license. Here in many cases the girls go as well as the men, and the way is open for a far more serious evil. But it was not the cafes, but the dance halls, which shocked the country a few years ago,

when their evils reached a climax under the Devery regime.

The visitor to the east side is struck by the number of transparencies, advertising dances and balls given by the innumerable "pleasure clubs." The custom is for a group of young men, and in some few cases, girls, to organize a club, which gives several dances during the season. The more important of these are known by name to all the livelier young people of the section, so that when you hear the boys or girls speaking of the Adirondacks or the New Eras or the Clairmonts, you can know that they are speaking of the pleasure clubs. The dances invariably begin late and not infrequently last all night. There is always a bar on the same floor with the dance hall, and sometimes they are practically one. There are usually tables near the bar, where in many cases the girls drink also. Not only is drinking carried on in the hall, but smoking as well. No signs of respect are shown to the presence of women, no concessions made. Miss Wald expresses it by saying "liquor is spilt over everything." Of course, many of the men are apt to be more or less under the influence, and drunkenness is a common-

It is not surprising that such an opportunity was seized by those elements in the community that profit on vice. The Cadet system had its origin in these halls. Political and social corruption, and even demoralization, was rapidly developing through them when the campaign of 1901 put a slight temporary check to some of their most flagrant abuses and made them known the country over. But the system still flourishes and its moral contamination continues to corrupt the young people of both sexes, even to degeneration and ruin.

THE NURSES' SETTLEMENT LEADS AGAINST PERVERTED AMUSEMENT.

Among those who were most concerned and who agitated most intelligently against this shocking state of affairs was Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Nurses' Settlement, and prominent for the last decade in all move-

ments for the betterment of the east side. Miss Wald found young people of her own clubs going to ruin through the perversion of the places of innocent amusement into recruiting stations for

immorality. "While education and religion have been fostered by the better element, the social life of the community," she says, "has fallen into the hands of the lowest class. Social life means more than education. You can't say that even politics or religion are more important. Through social life individual expression and the development of society are made possible, and it is in the early years when social life is most developed that character is forming and the attitude of the young people to life and society are My interest in this work was, in the first instance, to save my own boys and girls. I could speak of endless experiences to the point. One club of mine, the Dorians, that I had known since they were young boys, on becoming older, decided to give an entertainment. I found that they had chosen one of the biggest and most disreputable halls in the city. Its name was even unsavory among the

"As usual, the price of the hall, \$15 was to be refunded if the required amount of drinking was done at the bar. I protested against a club which I had fostered patronizing such a place. They then changed their name from Dorian to Doreen, but gave the dance. This was certainly not done out of disrespect for me, for I found afterward that the secret purpose of the whole affair was to make me a present of a writing desk, which I, of course, refused. They simply thought it necessary to use this hall because there was no other available place. The reason I have given so much time to the social halls movement is because this is simply the only way out."

Miss Wald found ready co-operation from other philanthropically disposed persons who are familiar with the state of affairs. Miss Virginia Potter, Miss Sara Straus and Mr. Jacob Riis were readily interested in the project to start

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a movement to erect decent and respectable social halls, where all facilities for entertainment and amusement could be had at the usual prices without the offer of any premium on drinking and without affording any opportunity for moral corruption.

Public-spirited residents of the east side were also interested from the outset, and the support of several prominent and wealthy bankers and other business men was secured. The directors of the association consist of the four persons named, four business men and two residents of the east side. hoped that the first hall will produce a small profit, the object being to make it pay 4 per cent. If success is had in this effort, sufficient money will be forthcoming for the construction of other similar halls. The financial position of those who have offered to back the movement, further in the case of the success of this first experiment, is such that there can be no doubt of their ability to "make good."

UPON WHAT SUCCESS OF THE MOVE-MENT DEPENDS.

First. That it shall be democratic. Second. That its "halls" shall furnish every facility needed by their patrons for legitimate recreation and amusement.

Third. That they shall be clean and respectable.

Fourth. That they shall pay.

The movement is democratic because many of the stockholders are residents of the east side; because its directors are in close touch with the people, and because every effort is being made to fill all reasonable demands.

"I want our young people to think that there is nothing as exciting or interesting on the east side as our place," is the way Miss Wald expresses the effort to encourage every form of legitimate amusement. It would seem from the response already made that there are many clubs and societies on the east side which find the prices of the hall reasonable, and its few restrictions not oppressive.

The building was opened on the third

of February by a ball of the American Hero Club, a product of Miss Wald's settlement. A week later a banquet of the Timothy J. Campbell Association, a Tammany political club, was successfully held there. There followed a few days later a ball of the Onward Social Club. On the following week the East Side Club, a non-partisan political organization, gave a concert and ball in the hall. The schedule for March included a fair, three balls, three concerts, five weddings and a Greek play, to be played on three consecutive even-One of the balls was given by the College Settlement, a concert by the Social Democratic party, the fair by the Revolutionary "Bunt." There seems to be no doubt that there is a demand for the hall, especially if we remember that most east side dances and entertainments are arranged several months in advance.

Clinton Hall contains all the usual facilities for amusement. In the basement are bowling alleys, pool and billiard tables and shower baths. On the first floor are two restaurants, one where smoking is allowed and one where smoking is not permitted. The entrance to the latter is separate, so as to secure the women from passing through a room where men are likely to preponderate. The second floor is taken up entirely by a beautiful assembly hall, which can be used for meetings, dances or a large wedding. It has a seating capacity of 600, is provided with a commodious little stage, large cloak rooms and a gallery seating conveniently about 150 people. The entrances and arrangements to the hall are as convenient and pleasing as could be imagined. stage is provided with a dressing room, and on one side of it is a private entrance to a supper room on the floor above, which may be hired by dancing parties and others wishing to use it. Connected with this supper room is a kitchen and a women's retiring room. There are also two lodge rooms on this same floor, with a movable partition, so that they can be converted into a single room holding several hundred people.

The floor above is divided into smaller club rooms, two of which are already leased by the year to the East Side Medical Association, with several hundred members, and the Dental Society, almost as large. Lastly comes the roof garden, which is hoped will be one of the most popular and advertised features of the hall during the summer. It is intended to have an orchestra in the garden and to serve the same refreshments which are usually to be found in such places. There is a very striking view of the East River and the new bridge from this roof, and as the elevator service is probably sufficient, it will afford the first opportunity of this kind that has been opened up on the east side.

PRECAUTIONARY SAFEGUARDS OF RE-SPECTABILITY,

Measures have been taken to ensure the respectability of all functions that shall take place in the building. There are no blue laws, but a few simple rules of decency. Smoking is prohibited in the ball room, smoking rooms having been specially provided. Loitering is not allowed in the halls and undecent language is not tolerated. But there is to be no espionage, the patrons will have to find their own chaperones, and no meddling supervision is intended.

The buffet has been placed on a different floor from the dance hall, and the cafe being connected with them by a dumb-waiter, the drinking does not overflow into the ball room. There is no bar, so that the standing treat is eliminated. The drink served will always be of a guaranteed purity, but the patrons may secure anything they ask for.

Above all, there is no rebate on the hall in proportion to the amount of drinking done. A higher price than the average is charged for the hall, but there is no other charge even if there is no drinking at all. This is the fundamental reform, and for this alone the movement is worthy of the strongest support, were nothing else contemplated. It will be necessary, however, to convert the young people on the east side to the fact that it costs a club as much

or more to pay a heavy drink bill and nothing for the hall as to pay a small price for the hall and drink as little as

they please.

The association's first experiment seems likely to pay because of the unusually good location of the building; because of the very low price at which the ground was secured; because of the free services that have been given by its directors and others who have promoted its development, and because of the many new and attractive features it offers. But it still has serious financial questions to meet. Of course, the building has, as usual, cost rather more than was expected and carries a considerable debt. As it is superior in every way to anything else in this section, a somewhat higher scale of rents is justified.

The price charged for the larger hall is \$25 for meetings and \$40 for balls and weddings where services are required. If the banquet rooms on the floor above are also included, the price is \$55. The lodge and club rooms are rented from \$2.50 to \$3 per evening, and will hold from 30 to 100 persons. These rates are about twice those charged for halls in the saloonkeepers' buildings, but not only is the service in these places inferior, but a minimum of drinking is absolutely required. There has been some difficulty in persuading the trade un-ions and others of the less wellto-do residents of the quarter that the rents in Clinton Hall are not excessive, but there is still a very large element, which might be broadly called the professional and business element, that is undoubtedly ready to pay higher prices than those they have been accustomed to for better service. The directors of the social halls are anxious to reach all classes of people in the community, but it seems that in this first experiment they will not be able to benefit those most in need. As the movement grows and experience is acquired, it may be possible to furnish services almost as good as those of Clinton Hall at a somewhat lower rate and to reach every element in the community.

The cafe is expected to be a source of profit, and this will undoubtedly be the case if it is run on a business basis. The prices are to be the same as those prevailing in competitive restaurants, but it is supposed to furnish a better bill of fare. Thirty cents is to be charged for the regular lunch and 35 cents for the dinner.

A danger arises here from the excessive zeal of reform. The prime object in the restaurant and bar is to raise funds to help support the building, but if the effort is made at the same time to raise the standard of eating, the first object may be defeated in the effort to

accomplish the second.

The social halls movement originated in a most pressing need, and will be pushed on in the most liberal spirit. The founders expect to learn by experience and to adapt themselves to every condition they may meet. Their boundless enthusiasm and solid financial support should carry them far. If Clinton

Hall proves a success, there is no reason why the experiment should not be reproduced in every working class section of our crowded cities. For while the movement grew up out of east side experience and east side needs, the conditions are not dissimilar in other districts where the working people live.

A Clinton Hall in every crowded city quarter would set a standard and teach a lesson to the owners of private halls. It would encourage the erection of similar buildings by the people themselves, movement already spontaneously begun by the Germans in New York and elsewhere. It would help to create a universal desire for clean and attractive meeting halls, and might finally result, as some of its promoters hope, in the taking over by our municipalities of many of the functions of these buildings, as has already been widely done by the progressive cities of Europe.

University Settlement, New

City.

Items and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest "Can Labor Unions Be Destroyed?"

By William English Walling in "World's Work"

Propounding the tremendous question which he does not even attempt to answer, Mr. Walling's most pertinent statement sets forth what he regards as the new attitude of employers' associations toward organized labor.

"The old organizations," he says, "were friendly to the unions; the new ones are almost without exception hostile," and without discussing whether it is wiser for the employers to be hostile or friendly toward the unions, Mr. Walling appears to urge the classes to "go" for one another. Noting a new tendency in the actions of employers' associations, he omits any statement of the probable results of following that tendency, and concludes with this war note:

"A year or two will show whether employers can conquer the unions alone or whether, to achieve that end, they must seek assistance of the government and the great middle class. They propose first to try it alone and they have decided not to give the politicians a chance."

Perhaps it is interesting and instructive to note what other than the blind employer type of mind looks with anticipation toward attacks upon labor unionism. As the radical state socialist, whom we mentioned in THE COMMONS for March as wanting nothing better to help his cause than the attacks of Parry and his kind, John Turner, the anarchist, seems to see through Parryism a possible opening for his program.

"I doubt," he is reported as saying recently, "whether American or English workmen will ever force a general strike, because they are calm and deliberate in their actions. But I believe that what Parryism is leading up to in this country is a general lockout. If the capitalists are blind enough to force this condition, then they must take the consequences. That it will result in a step forward for the working classes is certain-how long a step depends upon the working classes themselves."

Bishop Spalding Before House Committee.

"Shermanized" version strikes, enunciated by Bishop Spalding before the House committee on labor, has gained great currency. Another sentence, less epigrammatic and catchy than that "strikes are hell," yet is more worthy of repetition: "Where a business does not permit of a living wage, according to the American standard of living, that business ought to close up."

Union Called a Trust.

The "limitations of output," minimum wage corresponding to minimum selling price, and many other points of similarity between the great combinations of capital and the combinations of labor, have led many to compare unions with trusts. A petition filed in the St. Louis Circuit Court affirms a similarity between the two combinations, declaring the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to be a "trust, an illegal association, a combination against public policy and contrary to law," and asking that it be dissolved. The plaintiffs are the William G. Frye Manufacturing Company, the Charles A. Olcott Planing Mill Company, the Fox Brothers Manufacturing Company and the Lohse Patent Door Company. Pending the suit for dissolution, a restraining order and injunction is sought against the Carpenters' District Council of the union.

The action grows out of the attempts by the union in the last six months to unionize the plants of the plaintiffs.

Civic Federation Ends a Big Strike

The strike of lithographers has been ended, and 10,000 men returned to work at the various establishments throughout the United States and Can-

The settlement was reached at the headquarters of the New York Civic Federation, Twenty-second street and Fourth avenue,

April 20. The agreement by which the strike was declared off was signed by a committee of employers and employes. There was general rejoicing all around that the trouble was over.

The men had been out since April 15, since which time Emerson McMillin, the banker, who is president of the New York Civic Federation, and School Commissioner Samuel B. Donnelly, who is a member, had been doing their utmost to bring peace to the industry. After many conferences at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, at which Mr. Mc-Millin presided, a proposition was agreed to, both sides making concessions. This agreement was submitted to the unions throughout the United States and they voted to ratify

Ascendancy of Australian Labor Party.

Holding the balance of power in both the Senate and the House of Representatives (for detailed figures see The Commons for April), the ascendancy of the Australian Labor party is again seen the the recent choice of members for the New Victoria cabinet.

From reports it seems that the two older parties, the Ministerialists and the Opposition, might have united and together outvoted the new labor party, had not their differences over the fiscal issue been accentuated by the Chamberlain propaganda.

Mr. Watson, the labor leader, has formed a cabinet with himself as premier and treasurer. The other meni-

bers are:

Mr. Hughes, minister for external affairs. Mr Higgins, attorney-general.

Mr. Batchelor, minister for home affairs. Mr. Fisher, president of the board of trade. Mr. Dawson, minister of defense.

Mr. Mahon, postmaster-general. Mr. McGregor, vice-president of the fed-

eral executive council. As, with the exception of Mr. Higgins, all the members of the new cabinet belong to the Labor party, Australia as an "industrial experiment station" must be watched more closely than ever by students of the labor movement in politics.

Union Liable for Boycott Damages

That a labor union is liable for damages resulting from a boycott ordered by it was the principle of New Jersey law laid down by Justice Franklin Fort in the Supreme Court April 20, when Dressler & Hollender, contractors of Perth Amboy, obtained a verdict for \$500 against the walking delegate and other members of the Bricklayers and Plasterers' Protective Union of the same city. The case is the first of its kind in the state.

Justice Fort in his charge to the jury told it that trades unions were not illegal and that every man had the right to control his own labor and to combine and agree with another man or men as to the rate he and they shall charge for it. A combination of men to carry into effect the demand for wages was not unlawful.

No man or combination of men could. however, without making himself and them-selves liable civilly, combine to maliciously injure or seek to injure the business of any man or firm or corporation by preventing them from carrying on business or by pre-venting others so disposed to work from working for the firm or corporation or per-

Every man had the right to control his own labor and to sell it and to join with others to sell it, but he had no right to influence others unlawfully. Any man or body of men had a right to strike, but not to force those willing to work to remain idle.

Labor organizations and employes alike are profoundly impressed by the verdict. There have been criminal proceedings growing out of boycotts and strikes before in New Jersey, but never before has a civil judgment been obtained against a union for maintaining a strike or boycott. The charge by Justice Fort was on a line with the decisions of the Chancery Court in the Paterson silk strike cases a year or so ago. He left to the jury only the question whether the union was at fault and whether the action maintained was malicious.

Seeing precedent in the general legislation which prevents the product of convict labor from entering into competition with that of free workmen, the California State Federation of Labor urges further legislation to prevent competition of military with civilian mechanics

The following preamble and resolutions have been adopted.

Whereas, Of late years the quartermas-ter's department of the United States army is working enlisted soldiers in competition with civilian mechanics on transports and all vessels subject to army regulations, and on government reservations throughout the United States and its possessions; and,

Whereas, The enlisted soldier is only paid an advance of 50 cents per day over his pay of \$15 per month, while the wages of the

civilian mechanics employed at such work are \$3.50 to \$6 per day. Resolved, That the California State Fed-eration of Labor in convention assembled most earnestly protests against the action of the military authorities in employing enlisted men at 50 cents per day to compete

with civilian mechanics.

Resolved, That at the close of this convention the secretary is instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to our senators and members of the House of Representatives from the state of California.

A copy of this remarkable protest has been sent to the president, the senators, the representatives, and every cabinet officer, with a letter of transmittal from which the following is quoted:

You are earnestly requested to use your utmost influence to prevent soldiers and others in service of the United States Government being further employed to the detriment of civilian mechanics and against the interests of trade and industry as set forth in the resolutions herewith submitted.

A striking innovation in municipal administration is that of the city of Johannesburg, South Africa, which has applied for and been granted the right to purchase land within and beyond its boundaries, with municipal funds-such lands to be held for eventual sale, at low prices to citizens looking for a home.

The municipal authorities, impressed with the evils of the private monopolization of land, are enthusiastic about their project and consider it a guarantee of their city's future greatness and prosperity. By endeavoring to secure thousands of acres of the surrounding land, they intend diverting the spread of landlordism, and the taxing of all the combined industries, energies and resources of the city for the benefit of landholders.

Bricklayers and laborers, as well as men who had been thrown into involuntary idleness in other trades by the strike in the building trades in New York, reported for work on time April 7 at all buildings tied up by the strike, declared off pending arbitration. The strikers were glad to get back to work and did not hesitate to say so.

Woman in Modern Industrialism

By Catherine Waugh M'Culloch

The conference on this topic arranged by the Chicago Woman's Club in April was a notable example of the desire of women to mitigate to some extent the struggle for life and to learn methods of mutual aid. Modern industrialism is driving men to such fierce combat that it is becoming more and more important that women shall develop, instead, the unselfishness, sympathy and regard for others that shall make a race fit to survive. So women are beginning to consider the effects of modern industrialism upon themselves and their families, upon the home and society.

Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart's paper on "Workingmen's Homes" was an astonishing revelation of the heroism of those who earn small wages. Her schedules of expenditures for a family of five on a salary of \$14 per week, or \$728 yearly, was: For food, \$312; for rent, \$120; for fuel, \$49; for light, \$12; for clothing, books, doctors' bills, etc., \$235; total, \$728. She claimed that no woman could do all the home work and bear and rear a family properly even on \$25 per week without breaking down, and that few workingmen had \$25 per week, more often it was \$9. The wife of such a man was a Napoleon of finance if she kept out of debt. Such low wages necessitated the mother sacrificing all her love of beauty and social life. She advised women's clubs to provide creches not only to care for children when their mothers were earning, but also when they were attending some neighborhood meeting or club or place of recreation.

Foreign-born women, Miss Jane Addams said, would often be helped to a more economical household expenditure by consulting their husbands, who had a better knowledge of relative values. The provisional temporary character of the homes among poor people made good housekeeping difficult.

Mrs. Alice P. Norton of the School of Education of the University of Chicago claimed that to meet the requirements of good housekeeping to-day, the schools should give special scientific in-

struction in sanitation, ventilation, textiles, chemistry of foods, plumbing, drainage, sociology and economics. Three million women employed in household service in the United States needed much of this training. Mistresses of homes also needed this knowledge, but resented the suggestion. It was recommended that as much work as possible be put out of the home so that it be more economically and skilfully done. French women who were noted as economists did not bake bread nor make desserts nor shell peas.

That children should early be taught in the home to perform household tasks and that not all the teaching be left to the schools was strongly emphasized.

Women skilled in various professions reported concerning their work and remuneration as nurses, probation officers, rent collectors, lawyers, physicians, decorators, bookbinders, teachers and librarians. In such professions women are better paid than are women in other employments. Superior education, unusual natural gifts, remarkable perseverance have placed some such women in remunerative positions, but they are to be counted by the hundreds only, not by the hundred thousands.

The progress made by women in securing admission to the professions was encouraging. Dr. Lucy Waite reported 4,376 listed in the medical societies, and while New York had the largest number, Illinois came next with 239. Of the number, 51 were giving instruction in medical colleges in Chicago.

In an investigation as to the fees of 76 women physicians, graduates from a certain college, 10 received annual incomes from \$3,000 to \$4,000, 5 received from \$4,000 to \$5,000, 3 received from \$5,000 to \$10,000, and 15 received from \$15,000 to \$20,000.

The women lawyers were less numerous and less successful, with perhaps not over 100 of the 1,000 admitted in active practice. Few have had yearly incomes above \$5,000, and \$2,000 is probably larger than the average income. The many lucrative political po-

sitions open to men lawyers are generally closed to women because of their lack of political influence.

Miss Maud Radford said women excelled as text-book writers for the elementary grades; that their intuition was valuable in reading manuscripts; that their pay as novelists was as high as that of men. Miss McDougal said that women illustrators received generally as good pay as men.

In the teaching profession Mrs. Mc-Leish showed that salaries were lower for women than for men. The men fill the higher executive positions and the women predominate in the class-rooms. The influence of industrialism is felt even in the lower grades of the schools.

Miss Julia Lathrop reported that women in public institutions received about two-thirds as much as men, and though considered by physicians superior to man in the care of the insane, found fewer good positions open.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones charged this to the present Illinois method of putting party spoilsmen with political influence in charge of these unfortunate wards of the state. Someone said that a \$500 salary would secure a \$500 man or a \$2,000 woman.

In the addresses on woman's work in the professions it appeared that women with larger fees could hire others to do many of the tasks which so burden mothers, without neglecting the chil-

It was held by Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler that the mother who went occasionally from home was much better appreciated than the one who was always hanging around, but that the constant absence from home of actresses and opera singers was disastrous to home life.

Mr. William Foster, a lawyer and the son of two lawyers, said his mother. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, read law books while he played around the room; that her legal work never prevented her being a good mother, and that when he grew to manhood he and his mother were boon companions and intimate friends.

Mrs. Elia W. Peattie thought the mother missed a great deal in being ab-

sent from her children, but that the woman journalist could do much of her work at home; that a grandmother or aunt or any other loving, even untrained woman, could very well attend to the children during their earlier years.

In the general discussion of the family and the financial burdens borne by women, it was shown that only under modern civilization was any share of the burdens connected with the child put on the father. Before the dawn of history the mother took all care of the child and made all provision for his future care. She gathered the fruits, nuts and grains, she dried meat and fish for his food, prepared skins and wove fibers for his clothing, erected the shelter to protect him from storm, tilled the ground, hewed the wood, shaped the Through ages of effort she has won man to help her, and now society and the law expect him to do most of the outside, wage-earning work which brings food, clothing, shelter, and she is expected to do the inside work of personal care and loving watchfulnesss.

But if he dies or flees, her ancient burden comes again on her shoulders and she must do both inside and outside work. Motherhood calls forth compliment and poetry, but there is no money in it. So the mother who is willing to do her half in caring for her children must also do the father's half because society has planned nothing to assist her, but a scheme of poorhouses, separated brothers and sisters, and adopted homes.

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Society should so father the fatherless that the mother could be paid to stay at home and raise her own little brood free from the fear of hunger and homelessness.

As the average age of women employed in gainful pursuits is not above twenty-four, and nine-tenths of all employed are single, with no children of their own to care for, the problem of the working mother, while important, affects only a fraction of the workers. But until government does provide money support for the fatherless, a mother ought to find no door of remunerative employment shut. The em-

ployer can be depended on to pay no more than her services are worth, and law should never prevent the mother wage-earner entering the field where she can earn the most.

It was suggested that women's industrial emancipation may have caused the decline in chivalry now evidenced by the immobility of the masculine hat and the spectacle of women hanging on to straps in street cars. It should have added that as woman receives generally so much less pay than man she is not industrially on the same footing. woman must work harder than man for the same money, she is physically less able to stand, and as he, the voter, is the one responsible for the scarcity of seats because he does not force the street car companies to provide adequate accommodations, he alone should stand and let the blameless woman sit.

Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams said colored women were debarred from most positions, except household service, where the demand for workers exceeded the supply. There were in Chicago few of them in factories, about 100 in the canning department of the stockyards, many successful dressmakers, about 100 trained nurses, 15 school-teachers and twenty stenographers. She pleaded for justice in allowing capable colored girls to fill higher salaried positions.

Concerning the effect of industrialism on the health of women Dr. Julia Ross Lowe had found that housework is the most healthful; that factory work in sanitary workrooms, with its regular hours and systematic methods, may be healthier than life in an overcrowded unsanitary home; that workrooms are not always sanitary; that the girl employed in work which keeps her on her feet for ten hours a day, for four years, has little chance for mental culture or recreation and when married often breaks down under the double strain of housework and maternity. She believed that the American stock was deteriorating physically. Dr. Harriet Alexander argued that the reverse was true; that few died of childbirth now, while years ago about one-third died thus.

TRAINING FOR SELF-MAINTENANCE.

One of the most encouraging addresses was that of Miss Sarah L. Arnold, who told of the work of Simmons, College in training women for self-maintenance. Their course trains in secretarial work, librarianism, house-hold economics, horticulture, nursing and social science; one-fourth of the time is given to the technical work in the student's specialty and three-fourths to the ordinary academic work. The union of the two makes a liberal education. The keynote of the address was that education should not fit one to be a recluse, but fit one for service.

Miss Katherine L. Sharp, of the librarianship department of the University of Illinois, said there was a greater demand for library school graduates than could yet be supplied. They could begin at \$35 to \$40 per month and with a yearly increase of about \$5 per month each year come to \$100 per month. Of the persons interviewed, 15 received \$1,500, 8 received \$1,800 and 3 or 4 \$2,000; \$2,500 was the limit for women. Most of the positions over \$2,000 were for men.

Public night schools, according to Mr. Cooley, superintendent of the Chicago schools, were valuable in making girls more intelligent and economical, and as such were justified to the hardheaded business man. The high school now teaches stenography, typewriting, accounting, economics, science and modern languages in their bearing on commercial life.

Throughout the conference there was a constant demand for more thorough preparation and better schools as a remedy for women's low wages. On the last evening were presented two other remedies, trades unionism and the elective franchise.

THE LEGAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.

Miss Kate O'Connor, a successful real estate agent of Rockford, Ill., told of her experience as a worker where her remuneration was less, her position lower, because she was not a voter. She could go to a certain limit and then be legally debarred by sex.

The possession of the ballot would

put women on a higher financial footing and enable them to secure equal opportunities and equal wages.

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WOMEN AND TRADES UNIONS.

Miss Anna Nicholes briefly outlined the history of women's entry into factories and trades unions. Unions have helped establish higher wages, shorter hours and decent conditions, and it would seem very stupid for girls working together not to organize to mutually better conditions. This is a remedy for the great majority of women workers in shops, factories and stores.

Fred W. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association, followed this paper with a vigorous denunciation of wrongs committed by union men. He said that conditions were appalling; that a man in Danbury was rendered insolvent because he would not hire union labor only; that the agreement not to buy clothes without the union label sold by the walking, talking delegate was a conspiracy and had nearly ruined the clothing business in Rochester; that certain girls in the employ of a boot and shoe company had been guilty of plain stealing in striving to secure two kinds of pay; that there were over 1,300 strikes last vear and more people injured by strikers' violence in Chicago than by grade-crossings; that there were seven murders committed: that bludgeon methods, muriatic acid and dynamite made one believe the trades unions stood for violation of law. He said that club women must do more than scratch on the surface, they must go down deep enough to see all the violence and law-breaking. He said striking was often done for the most foolish reasons; that girls who packed cookies struck because the manager wanted only a rearrangement of the method whereby time could be saved.

Miss Jane Addams agreed with Mr. Job in deprecating violence, but said that one must not, because of the horror caused by an individual case of violence, overlook the fact that the great majority of trades unionists were peaceful. Twenty-six thousand men the first of March had made their contracts for work without violence of any sort; that

it might be difficult to realize the value of a movement when one was cotemporary with it, but those things mentioned by Mr. Job, which were temporary and exceptional, should not be held as a characteristic of the whole movement. Other great movements had in their earlier beginnings some erratic reformers who would not move on peaceful lines, and these were eliminated as the voice of the majority was heard. She knew the great mass of trades unionists were working for peaceful settlements and were personally guiltless of lawlessness.

Mr. Sincere, another attorney for manufacturers, claimed that contracts were sometimes only signed at the point of a gun. He criticized specially the limiting of apprentices.

Mr. James Hunt, a trades unionist, said he approved the limiting of apprentices, otherwise the boys would underbid men and fathers have nothing to do but carry their sons' dinner pails. He preferred to do the work himself and keep his son that much longer in school. He said that though a member of unions for many years, he never had heard violence approved.

Prof. Graham Taylor said that if those who read Lincoln Steffens' recent exposure of the rascality of certain bribe-giving business concerns should at once denounce all Chicago business men as bribers, it would be the same sort of scratching on the surface as denouncing all trade unionists as law-breakers, because a few individuals had been guilty of violence.

Some of those present spoke of the need of authoritative data on these important problems affecting women, childhood and the home, and wished that some careful state investigation might be made, perhaps under the state labor bureau.

[&]quot;He trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality, in the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity. May this tribute to his fame excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievement."—Inscription on John Howard's monument in St. Paul's, London.

Status of Women Employed in Manufacturing

By Mrs. George W. Plummer

The following questions were sent out by the reform department of the Woman's Club to a large number of firms employing women:

How many women do you employ?

How many are married? How many are widows? What is the average age?

What is the length of employment? Why do you prefer to employ women rather than men?

Have you any idea of the family or financial obligations carried by your women employes?

What education would you recommend for working women?

What is your opinion of trades unionism for women?

Have you any form of voluntary association among your women employes? Is the supply of working women equal to the demand?

Have you any remarks to make about their health?

Replies were received from firms who employ in the aggregate 24,231 women. There were reported out of the whole 683 married women, 199 widows. The

average age was 25 years.

The question concerning the length of employment was taken by some to mean the number of hours which employes gave a day to the work, but the majority took it to mean, what the average duration of service with the firm was. As to the length of hours, only two reported less than ten hours, one seven to nine, another nine hours; the rest were from ten to eleven hours a day.

In answer to the question, "Why do you prefer to employ women rather than men?" a number replied, "Nature of work." One said, "For light work, requiring deftness, women are superior." Another said, "They are more attentive to their work, more regular and cleaner." Another, "Less whisky and

beer. More conscientious workers. Lower wages." Again, "Do better work." Better adapted to light work." "They have proved very capable and faithful as cashiers." "Find women more competent for stenographic work." "Steadier." "Where they can be used,

more steady and reliable."

In reply to the question, "Have you any idea of the family or financial obligations carried by your women employes?" many said, "We have not." Some of the answers are as follows: "There is no 'race-suicide' hereabouts. Families are large; climate is temperate, living cheap. Yet this class of people are not forehanded, as a rule." "Most of them assist at home." "Think a large majority are not depended upon by others for support. Work for self-support only." "Some have such obligations, some work for additional money, but most for their own livelihood." "Most of them have fathers and mothers, and they contribute to support of the family." "Practically all are helping to support their families." "Some of those married help out by earning \$6 to \$8 per week here. Some unmarried help at home with what they earn."

Some of the replies to the question, "What education do you recommend for working women?" are as follows:

Some of the replies are as follows: "As good as possible." "Grammar or high school and business course." "All they can get." "Good school education when young." "Common school." "Good common school and manual training." "All they can get; many cannot cook a cup of coffee." "A good common school education to begin with, with particular attention to domestic economy." "Night schools and Y. W. C. A. advantages." "Public school." "To obtain all the education they can." "Thorough common school education. Our employes are quiet and accurate at

figures, write reports neatly, are courteous and pleasant in doing business with our patrons." "The opportunities of public school education, including high school, are sufficient for positions occupied in business houses." "High school education." "Anything that will raise their ideal and teach them the value of economy and simple living." "Kindergarten, English branches and industrial school for our work."

· We have taken only a few of the answers upon "What is your opinion of trades unionism for women?"

Here are some of the replies: "We have little respect for trades unionism for either sex. We do not object to it." "Not necessary for the question of wages, and unions decrease the effi-ciency." "Believe it beneficial. Think all women wage earners should belong to trade unions." "Our opinion is unfavorable. Neither think it beneficial nor necessary in mercantile houses."
"Is not womanly," "All right if properly managed." "Don't believe in it. Ab-"Trade unions have proved a nuisance. We would advise them to leave them alone." "A very poor one. Would not employ union labor." "Do not think well of it." "Do not consider it in any way to their advantage." "Not much benefit, if any." "Prefer not to express my opinion." "A failure, not a benefit to them anyway." "Not necessary, nor successful."

There were a large number who made no reply to this question at all.

"Have you any form of voluntary association among your women employes?" brought out the fact that the majority have some benefit and relief fund.

To the question, "Is the supply of working women eequal to the demand?" the answers were in most cases "Yes." In one case, "Greater." There were five cases of "No." Another said, "Not at all times." And another, "Hardly." And in still another, "Yes, in some departments, never in others."

Replying to, "Have you any remarks to make about their health?" there was not a single complaint that the employes were not well. One said, "Health seems better than men. All seem well and happy." Another, "Health of all excellent, except such that dissipate." Another invites the clubs to come and see. The surroundings of the employes good; says they are very healthy. "Generally good. Compare well with that of men. Very small mortality."

In closing this summary, we have given some of the interesting notes which we have received in the letters accompanying the question slip, and also some of the replies given in by the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of, Statistics on Compensation in Certain Occupations of Graduates of Colleges for Women, which we felt would be valuable along this line.

EMPLOYERS' SENTIMENT.

"We take a great interest in this corporation in all such matters, and are striving to bring about better relations between employer and employe, and are taking a great interest in the health, morals and upbuilding of all of our operatives, and are only too glad to give any information along this line that we can."

"We have proved here that woman does not lose any of her womanliness by entering the industrial world, if the conditions are as they should be. On the other hand she comes in contact with people of all kinds and becomes stronger and broader minded, more capable of coping with social and domestic problems."

"This is a very serious problem, and if proprietors will not see that it is their duty to humanity to provide sanitary workrooms, we must prevail upon them to take up the work from a selfish motive, because it will pay them in cold dollars and cents to better the condition under which their employes work. Many proprietors are falling in line and no doubt the sweat shop will be a thing of the past."

"First, a fully equipped gymnasium. We have women's gymnasium classes two nights a week, with a competent woman instructor. We have private, individual dressing rooms, and shower

baths capable of giving sixty people baths at once. We also have a reading room and library. We have retiring rooms for the women, where they can spend their spare moments during the day, and we have a piano and pianola, etc. We also have a retiring room, with cots, with some first aids, in case any of the women are taken sick, faint or meet with an accident. We also have a lunch room, where we furnish them with good, wholesome, well-cooked, cleanly food at the lowest possible cost. We have separate entrances for the women. We employ altogether about 3,000 people."

"Real estate is an untried field, but, nevertheless, most prolific and interesting, and one which women are espe-

cially equipped to fill.

"The women, I find, are apt pupils and are willing, ready and anxious to learn. It is because they have had little or no opportunity and have never been called upon to draw from their own business facilities, that they have not been considered successful as a body. The individual woman, however, who branched out—applied herself, studied and observed-has been generally successful, some eminently Women starting out for themselves are apt to expect chivalry from men in business, and here is just where so many make their great mistake. woman who enters the competitive race must not expect consideration because she is a woman, as she will not get it. Furthermore, she is not entitled to it; all that she has a right to expect is a "square deal" or the same courtesy that one business man extends to another. From my own experience I can state that men are uniformly fair and courteous and will deal with a competent woman as readily as with a competent man.

"The real estate and loan business, to my mind, is a fine field for women, especially for those who have been in a position to gain the confidence of the public."

"In the cotton mills many of the operatives marry on Saturday afternoon and go back to work on Monday; and when they have children, they place them in nurseries and return to work as soon as possible after confinement. I can give no idea as to the percentage."

Why do you employ women rather

than men?

"Reasons why women are employed rather than men which have come to my attention are: Lower wages, scarcity of men, delicate fingers required in some trades, such as electrical; more careful of machinery, more skilful in certain lines of manufacture and more faithful."

Have you any idea of the financial obligations carried on by women em-

ployes?

"In every line of inquiry it will be found that a very large percentage have family financial obligations. I understand that women wage-earners who marry sometimes return to work because their husbands are not willing to surrender any portion of the amounts expended before marriage for their accustomed pleasures, and the family allowance not permitting the wife as much as she had during her independence, she is obliged to earn it herself or go without."

"There are, of course, many kinds of work which women do more efficiently than men, but there are certainly some occupations in which women are employed on account of their lower wage scale. Many women workers, of course, have other persons dependent upon them, but, on the whole, the standard of wages is determined by the woman who lives at home and is partly supported by other members of her family. There is at least one large store in Boston where a special point is made of having all the women employes live at home. This is not on account of moral concern as to the employes, but because the employers wish to get the fullest advantage of the low scale of wages set by the so-called 'pin money worker."

"There seems never to be any lack of women to fill all available avenues of employment. This, of course, tends to keep down wages. As against this tendency, however, there are two or three large stores in Boston in which a special standard of fitness is set and a higher rate of wages established than would be called for by mere supply and demand. I do not know of any such method in connection with factory employment, however, in Boston. In the steam laundry industry, the wages were formerly somewhat higher than at present. The reduction of the element of danger in connection with laundry machinery and Chinese competition have served to bring the wages down to the The special general factory level. causes tending to depress the rate of wages for women make it specially important there should be trade unions in their occupations to act as a sort of buffer against the operations of these depressing forces.

"There is a thriving Women Clerks' Benefit Association in Boston; also the Union for Industrial Progress, which includes women working in factories.

"I look with much interest upon two experiments recently entered upon in Boston toward the solution of the problem of domestic service. The Household Aid Association is sending out properly trained women to work in homes by the hour or by the day. The laboratory kitchen is sending out cooked meats on order."

"Probably in busy times 60 to 75 per cent of our working force come from the homes of moderately well-to-do working people, and what the individual earns is used for her own support; 15 to 25 per cent are from outside the city and live at boarding houses or with relatives, and are entirely dependent on their own earnings. The balance are often cases where invalids or others are wholly or partially dependent upon the worker. It is a common practice among families where girls and boys are working for each to contribute his or her earnings to a common family fund.

"The women who work in our factory do not take it up or desire it as a life calling. We furnish employment to young women not needed at home, who come to us after their schooling is over and before marriage has come to them. Any special education to meet the fac-

tory conditions would be misdirected

"If every employer of working people were to treat his employes in the same manner that he would like to have his own sons and daughters treated were they obliged to go out and work for their living, I believe that labor and capital would be very much closer together than they are to-day, and so-called labor troubles very much less frequent."

"There are very few women that are as competent as the best men in telegraphy. When they do attain that standard they usually receive as much pay as men doing the same work. Women are unfitted to become chief operators, having the government of men and care of wires. They, therefore, do not rise above positions as operators or managers of small offices. Chief operators, wire chiefs, assistant chiefs, etc., in large offices receive considerably more than operators working at desks. The average pay of a chief operator is about \$100 per month.

"We have no women who can justly be called first-class operators, who can acurately transmit forty or fifty messages in an hour during the whole day, or who could receive them if they were The nervous strain required to do this is very great, and this may account for the scarcity of first-class operators amongst the women. Is not the inherited tendency amongst the monogamous races for women to look forward to an early marriage and a consequent withdrawal from the struggle for existence, a retarding factor in their competition with men? The data for this inference are the facts that for the first few months young girls generally make rapid progress, and having attained a sufficient degree of experience to enable them to earn enough barely to live on, they seem to stop further effort toward improvement. That this cessation of effort is ascribable to the hope of a marriage in the near future, making such effort useless, seems to be justified by the fact that this is what happens in the majority of cases.

"Women should unite and resolve not to under-cut each other or their fellow craftsmen of the printing offices and other industrial places where their cheaper labor is appreciated by their employers. Intelligent work and faithful service should be paid for, and it is robbery for the employer to discount the pay because the worker wears petticoats."

These are answers of employes as given in the compensation of college graduates:

"The real value of woman's work is slowly turning the tide. Meanwhile, as long as she will work for less she not only may, but must, for few women are in a position to refuse to do it."

"A woman's work is often inferior to man's in the same grade, because she is apt to take up work as a temporary necessity. She, therefore, does not feel that desire to learn her profession thoroughly that a man feels, who makes his profession his lifework."

"The women clerk's wages range from \$3 to \$5 per week, the latter for experienced hands, while the men's wages are from \$10 to \$15 and \$20."

"The majority of the young girls live at home, and this is one of the reasons for accepting low wages."

"Men as a rule want women to work for them and not with them; hence at present few women do anything except the 'dead work.'"

"I have observed that in late years when a woman entered an examination and was in every way fitted and earnest in pursuit of scientific studies, and could compete with men she was fairly dealt with. There are some women in the Government service who receive higher pay than men for performing inferior work. This is, I fear, the result of influence and favoritism. I think that when women are in every way fitted equally with men they will be equally recognized. Their period of higher education has just begun, that of man has long continued."

"My observation leads me to conclude that women as a rule are to blame for low wages, and for several reasons. When women enter the business world they carry with them false notions of what is due them. Everything beyond courteous justice is a privilege accorded them, but many demand these privileges as rights. This destroys their desirability as employes. When they lay aside the fol-de-rol of being 'ladies' and are business women the way will be clear for an advance in their wages."

"I have fulfilled all the duties of a citizen, just as man does (with the exception of voting), reared three fatherless children from tender years, kept them in school until they were twentyone, partially supported an invalid sister, assisted the young boys of her family, and I am a woman, living on wages much less than those of men."

Women in Trades and Professions Underlying The Home

By Mrs. Leslie Lewis

The questions to which these answers were returned were sent to persons specially trained for their work, as professors of economics or directors of schools of domestic science, or to persons who are carrying their theories into practice in some chosen work along the line of previous investigation.

We feel, therefore, that what we have to offer are the thoughtful statements of special students, and, as such, are entitled to our consideration.

The first question asked was:

"What, in your opinion, is the future of the professions and trades which underlie the home?"

The consensus of opinion seems to be embodied in the following answers of Mrs. Ellen H. Richards of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mrs. Virginia Hull Larned, president of National Household Association, and Miss Isabel Evans Bullard, director of the School of Domestic Arts and Science, in our own city.

"The trades that are susceptible of mechanical treatment will be carried on outside the home, under careful supervision. Those that remain in the home will become more scientific and artistic -in other words, will be raised in quality."

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president Consumers' League, New York, gives practically the same opinion, and adds:

"The work of the household will be much simplified and, in the future, no doubt, fewer household employes will be employed. It seems important, therefore, that young girls should either learn some one trade or profession well, or should be trained to do general housework and to cook simple, nutritious food."

"Do you consider the present organization of the home as permanent, or is it undergoing certain modifications incident to modern industrialism?"

Miss Caroline Hunt, professor of home economics, University of Wisconsin, gives the following answer (see her paper).

Dean Marion Talbot of the University of Chicago says:

"The organization of the home will undergo profound alterations in the future, as it has in the past."

Marion Foster Washburne of Elkhart, Ind., replies:

"Undergoing rapid modification."

And here again we find that the consensus of opinion is that a change is going on, and that science will play a large part in the reorganization of the home.

Mrs. Mary Mumford, vice-president of the National Congress of Mothers, says:

"The home at present has no science and is wastefully managed."

Third question:

"What special modification in education, if any, would you recommend to meet the present-day needs of good housekeeping?"

From nearly all the schools of domestic science comes the reply: The introduction of some phase of home economics into the colleges for women, and the study of domestic art-science in all elementary and high schools.

I quote the reply of Mrs. Emma Jacobs, director of domestic science in the public schools of Washington:

"What form of domestic service

would you recommend to meet the increased luxury and complications of modern housekeeping?"

"Service by experts or skilled workers, paid by the hour," is the reply given by most of those to whom we have written.

One writer suggests that housework should be done by two classes:

First—The intelligent woman who shares the family life.

Second—People who come by the day and maintain their own family life.

"What would, in your opinion, render domestic service more acceptable to women?"

Dean Talbot says:

"More clearly defined duties, more exact standards, more regular hours, better conditions for doing housework, more recognition of the trade character of the work, less feeling of social caste."

Mrs. Edwards gives:

"Definite duties and exact hours, with a *common standard*, so that the work may be done in the same way every day, and not be changed at the caprice of an ignorant mistress."

Mrs. Mumford, vice-president of the National Congress of Mothers, and one or two others advocate:

"Allowing servants to live outside the place of labor."

Mrs. Nathan says:

"Placing household service on a scientific basis will bring a more intelligent class of young women into the service, and more consideration on the part of employers would be exacted by intelligent women."

"What effect would the recognition of woman's economic and financial value as housekeeper have on the status of the home?"

Miss Bevier of the University of Illinois thinks that:

"It would help to a more rational division of income, set a value on skilled labor, and dignify housekeeping, on the principle that we value what we pay for."

Several replied that it would raise the status of home. Some made no reply to this question.

Mrs. Mumford looks at the question

from a different point of view.

"I don't believe the life of woman as wife-mother, home-maker, can be reduced to a financial or economic basis, There are things in life which can't be estimated on a money value. Let us be thankful that it is so, and let us as women hold our service as something in life which no money can pay forthat life which is more than meat or We should not let ourselves down to be estimated as housekeepers. Home is a spiritual thing. In it are the unseen things which are the most truly real, but can be measured in terms of this world.

Mrs. Nathan makes reply to the question as follows:

"In order to have a financial value as housekeeper, one should have had some training. Many housekeepers have experimented for years with their husbands' earnings with little or no success. When young girls receive proper training to qualify them to be housekeepers, their value will be recognized and the betterment of the home will be the result. The family income is often the product of the wife's labor, as well as the husband's; it is to the interest of both to make the income yield as much comfort as possible."

"What method would you suggest for formulating woman's economic value as housekeeper?"

Very few answered this last question. From one person comes the fol-

"Tabulated statistics as to actual cost of living, actual expenditures compared with expenditures that would be sufficient. That would help to show how much money is wasted in ordinary buying, and that woman is an important factor in the 'economics of consumption.'

Another answer is:

"Efficient training and the wise conducting of a home should entitle a woman to an independent income in proportion to the total income and that set aside for the wage-earner."

Mrs. Nathan says:

"If the wife feels that she can earn

more at painting, or writing books, or singing, or working at any other profession, she is justified in employing a housekeeper. It seems to me a false position for a husband to pay a wife for supervising their joint home. Every married couple must thresh out their own problems in regard to the just and wise expenditure of the family income."

Replies By Caroline L. Hunt

By Caroline L. Hunt

1. "What, in your opinion is the future of the professions and trades which underlie the home?"

The trades must pass through the union stage. After that their fate is as uncertain as that of other trades.

Professional housekeepers and dieticians will probably find increasingly remunerative and interesting work in large institutions. Their services will not be available for the average private family until there has been an agreement between families as to standards of living and until some form of co-operative consumption has been adopted. The cost of education of the professional worker is so great that the average private family cannot afford to appropriate her exclusively.

2. "Do you consider the present organization of the home permanent?" No, because it is not democratic. It forces upon woman and not upon man a choice between a home and the opportunity for intensive cultivation of special talents. It forces the domestic helper to sacrifice her home life to the home life of her employer.

"Is the organization of the home undergoing modifications incident to modern industrialism?" I can see no signs of reorganization-only of the temporary adjustment.

3. "What special modifications in education, if any, would you recommend to meet the present-day needs of good housekeeping?"

The establishment of thorough professional courses for housekeepers and

dieticians.

The introduction into college of courses which shall give men as well as women a scientific attitude of mind with reference to that part of environment known as home.

Manual training, including cooking, for boys and girls in all the lower

4. "What form of domestic service would you recommend to meet the increased luxury and complications of modern housekeeping?"

No concessions should be made to

growing luxury.

The complications which arise from the fact that women now have the opportunity to educate themselves for and to pursue lines of work other than housekeeping and the complications arising from the difficulty of preserving physical vigor in closed houses must be met by simplification-not the simplification which results from a desire to escape work and responsibility, and which shows itself in barrenness and unattractiveness of home surroundings, but the simplification which results from a clear understanding of the purposes of home and which shows itself in directness of application of means to ends.

A clear understanding of the purposes of the home might result in the centralization, not of homes, but of the places where the work necessary for the maintenance of separate homes is performed. Central heating plants would reduce amount of dirt, central power plants for running pneumatic cleaners would reduce the work of removing dirt.

A consuming public, educated to know and to demand the things which are essential to good and healthful living, and willing to dispense with the non-essentials, might make desirable the centralization of certain forms of work. Cooking might be done in public kitchens and laundry work in central laundries. The daily, weekly and semi-yearly house-cleanings might be done under the direction of specialists.

Growths in grace might make healthy adults willing to perform personal services for themselves and to care for their own belongings—to prepare their clothes for laundry or repair shop, to

make their own beds and to prepare their rooms for the cleaner, and to wait upon themselves at the table.

The housework which remained could be shared by the various members of the family or could be done by outsiders having homes of their own and definitely limited hours of labor.

The homemaker whose talents lie in directions other than housekeeping might thus be relieved both of work and of superintendence, and should become simply an organizer.

5. "What would, in your opinion, render domestic service more acceptable

to women."

Specialization, definite hours of labor, the opportunity for homes with those they love. This would mean the abolition rather than the reform of domestic service.

6. "What effect would the recognition of woman's economic and financial value as a housekeeper have on the status of the home?"

Such recognition would be reactionary. It would result in lowering women's wages in other lines of work. It might result temporarily in better housekeeping, but it would certainly in the end lead to poorer homemaking.

Work is given to men not only, nor so much, perhaps, because the world needs it. Men make work, but work makes men. An office is not the place for making money; it is a place for making men. A workshop is not a place for making machinery, for fitting engines and turning cylinders; it is a place for making souls; for fitting the virtues to one's life; for turning out honest, modest, whole-natured men.

For Providence cares less for winning causes than that men, whether losing or winning, should be great and true; cares nothing that reforms should drag their cause from year to year bewilderingly, but that men and nations in carrying them out, should find there education, discipline, unselfishness and growth in grace.—Henry Drummond.

"Copartnership says only that labor shall share in ownership, management and results. It seeks to harmonize all five of the interests involved in production—the employe, the employer, the consumer, the trades union, the general public. It asks for all workers such a voice in the management of their own industry as democracy demands that the people should always have in their own affairs."—"Labor Copartnership," H. D. Lloyd.

Women in The Literary and Artistic Profession

By Mrs. John H. Buckingham

It has been said that three strongly marked characteristics of the 19th cen-

First, the entrance of women generally into public life; second, a distinct rise in the standard of morals, and third, a quickened sense and recognition of the paramount importance of the home.

In the census the housekeeper is written down N. G., not gainful, and all women who work without pay are put in the same class with industrious convicts and idle millionaires. About 12 per cent of the women of this country have a gainful pursuit, and what proportion of that number is occupied in literary work, on the stage, as artists, or in the various branches of Arts and Crafts, it is impossible to state. The number is large, however, and in some of these lines greatly increasing. Tre-mendous significance for women lies in the revival of handicraft because it opens up immense industries which offer activities for both hand and brain and can be carried on at home without interfering seriously with the care of children. We see that it was necessary for handicrafts to fall into disuse while we were working out the system of division of labor, and that now, upon its revival, it is possible for women to become more than amateurs. schools of Industrial Arts from 80 to 90 per cent of the students are women and 10 per cent support themselves. In one such school out of 60 women students all are preparing to be self-supporting, one-third are married and onethird are supporting themselves and helping to support others. A striking example of what women can do in this line is furnished by two young women in New York who, a few years ago, began making artistic lamp shades, German favors, dinner cards and other decorative articles. They now employ 50 women, all of whom are supporting or helping to support themselves and others, 10 of whom as designers. Salaries range from \$30 per week to \$3, the average being \$10.

It is the testimony of this firm that women have a monopoly in all these lines of work. They strongly favor congenial employment for women. The benefit of health and spirits has been so marked that they are frequently asked to give employment to young women not obliged to labor or work for support, simply to give them an object in life and therefore improve their health. In no place is ill health so fatal to family happiness as among those that labor, and none can be well unless their work is congenial and sufficiently remunerative to keep them encouraged. They employ only four men. They prefer to give employment to women who need the work, and prefer also trained workers. Indeed, the answers to the question of the necessity for training have been virtually unanimous in its favor, though along certain lines that of experience is placed above that of mere technical training,

Of the students in the night classes in an eastern school of Industrial Arts 40 per cent are women, 10 per cent of whom are supporting themselves.

Of the instructors in art schools twothirds are women who work for salaries one-quarter to one-third less than those paid men for the same work. The average salary is \$600 for a year of eight months. In cases where men are at the head of such institutions, in reply to the question, "Do you prefer to employ women?" the answer is "No, but in salaried positions they work for onethird less." Their reward more nearly approximates mens' in all lines the more advanced the workers become. Etchers, designers, decorators, are paid equally for the same quality of work. Sixty dollars a week is paid one young woman for designing jewelry. In illustrating there are a number of women doing good work, the best of them being paid as well as men. They receive from

\$25 up for a book cover or an illustration.

The fact that women have a monopoly in the arts pertaining to the home is a significant one, as well as the further fact that much of the work may be done at home, and need not interfere with home life. "Why," said one successful crafter, a woman who has originated the work in which she excels and teaches in one of the art schools as well, "I suppose my work does interfere somewhat with my home duties, but," she added, "I believe I give more time to my home and children than the average society woman, who spends a good deal of time in the shops

and at social functions."

Woman is essentially religious. Art is religion, and in artistic expression woman satisfies a need of her nature. Her work becomes a creed, a faith with her, and disposition and character cannot but be improved, and she becomes a better wife and mother because a better individual. In success along these lines perseverance, patience, temperament, count for more than environment, and the mother of a family often does better work than the woman whose time is all her own. On the other hand, the wish to find expression for peculiar talents is self-regarding, and breadth of life depends upon an equilibrum between self-regarding and unselfish desires. It is a question whether home life with its cares is compatible with the capacity for work which makes genius. Harriet Hosmer, Cecilia Beaux, Mary Cassatt, and our own Julia Bracken are unmarried. One of the few fine women etchers of this country says, "An etcher may safely be regarded as working purely for the love of etching, for being one of the finest of the fine arts it appeals to a higher understanding and therefore to a more limited number of appreciative people than does color." So it is not a profitable line of work unless one is a Rembrandt, Whistler or Haden, and even then success generally comes late in life. From a list of 17 women etchers who have done excellent work in past years, I find only a few who are working at present.

Whether a woman can do her whole

duty as wife and mother, and succeed in a professional career—I mean the success that comes by putting one's life into one's work—is a question. It generally takes two to make a genius. There is usually the silent partner, one who helps with labor and inspiration, and the position is so subordinate, so selfeffacing, that, up to the present time, men are not applying in large numbers.

As to the reward in these various occupations, an average is difficult to determine. Painters, sculptors, etchers, and handicraft bookbinders work generally, at their individual risk as to sales, pupils, etc., many supplementing their income by teaching in the art schools, for which they are paid, as we have seen, from one-quarter to one-third less than men. In such shops as the Roycroft the women workers come from the country about Buffalo, are absolutely untrained, and are taught what is required. They generally marry soon and never become expert crafters. The average wage paid is \$5 per week.

The highest wage paid to rug makers is \$1.50 per day. Earnings vary according to the time given, which is largely determined by temperament. It is the opinion that the employment of the mothers, compelling the children to do much of the housework, more than compensates, by the spirit of helpfulness and independence engendered, for some loss of neatness and orderliness in the home. While the tired worker is less companionable to her husband, it is perhaps, after all, a question of the fatigue of careful unremunerative housekeeping versus the fatigue of remunerative, interesting employment. A good worker seems to meet both requirements in a surprising way, while a slovenly, peevish wife is the same whether she works or not.

As designers in wall papers, linens, lawns and printed goods, carpets, furniture, jewels, book covers and decorative wares, women are holding excellent positions in many of the leading houses, it being the opinion of experts that they excel in the arts pertaining to the home, and virtually have the monopoly in some of them.

The field of agriculture and horti-

culture is a new one in this country and a valuable one for women. The laying out of small places in the suburbs, with the care of lawns, trees and shrubs, has been the theme of lectures given during last winter in New York City by Prof. George T. Powell, classes having been formed by ladies who direct their gardeners and give much care to the landscape work at their country homes. Foreign gardeners are so ignorant of American conditions and needs, and often so unwilling to take suggestions, that these ladies are themselves taking practical instruction and would welcome intelligent young women who are trained for the work, to superintend the caring for grounds and greenhouses. This is a practical need and the field a new one. Dr. Powell is employing women on large fruit farms where some of the work is done by the piece system, and women earn more than men. A new line of horticulture, the planting of dwarf trees, is being developed. It will require much higher skill and will be a new and valuable work for women who excel where skill and care is required in pruning, and in grading fine fruits.

"What a transformation there will be," writes Dr. Powell, "when young women of culture and training, who have a real love for nature work, and with executive ability are prepared to give general direction to the development of beautiful homes."

Women have come to this country from Europe to take horticultural and agricultural courses, and one young girl came from Honolulu for the study of flowers. Miss Beatrix Jones and Miss Lee are doing good work in landscape gardening in New York. Miss Witherby is very successful in laying out and conducting school-garden work in Boston, while others are following different lines of the work most successfully.

In schools of acting and music young women outnumber the men 3 to 1 and the unmarried outnumber the married 3 to 1, while on the stage until recent years the men far outnumbered the women. The large majority of actresses are married. While more women

seek stage life, plays are written for more men than women. The vogue of light opera, extravaganza, and spectacular productions has opened in the last ten years a large field of employment for untrained young women. Many companies employ 30 to 40, simply as "show girls," as they are called, and the number of women earning a living on the stage has probably doubled in that time. In one of the Ben Hur companies, for example, there were 30 chorus singers, 25 dancers, 12 little girls, and 5 actresses, making 72 women in one company. The average salary in that company was \$17, though the lowest was \$4. Wardrobe women, seamstresses and dressers abound. The head ones get \$30 or \$35 per week, the others from \$12 up.

Actresses are paid as well as men, a star always having a percentage in the profit. Salaries range from \$10 to \$300 per week, but the average is nearer \$10. This varies, however, as in the case of a company playing Ibsen, requiring actors of highest skill, where the average is \$62 per week. It must be remembered, however, that while actresses are paid as much as men, their expenses for dressing are three times as heavy, the demands in this respect being ever on the increase.

Special training for the stage is of such recent date in this country that time is hardly ripe for sure comparison as to its financial advantage, yet many examples are given of graduates from schools of acting who are making instant positions utterly beyond the reach of untrained novices, and receiving salaries above the average almost at once. In legitimate drama the unanimous verdict is that some training is necessary, that of *experience* being required by some managers for parts of any importance.

As to age, younger women are demanded in light opera, vaudeville and that class of entertainment, but in the legitimate drama, the leads and, in fact, most of the parts are filled by older women, the creative power reaching its height only when ripened by the culture of long experience.

Indeed it is pleasant to think that in

all creative work there is no age limit. Mrs. John Drew and Joseph Jefferson are examples of this on the stage.

One of our local managers, a woman, gives employment to 100 women, vaudeville, vocalists, instrumentalists and miscellaneous specialty people. All support themselves and many of them work with their husbands in what is technically called "team work" and receive joint salaries. Probably one-half of these women are contributing to the support of others. Terms are so variable that an average salary cannot be given. The highest paid for one act is \$25, the lowest \$5. In vaudeville women are generally paid more than men.

A study of the lists of Lyceum Bureaus and exchanges shows a small proportion of women readers and lecturers, and a very large one of musicians, both instrumental and vocal, but many lecturers prefer to make their own dates, thus saving the percentage that must be paid the regular bureaus. In the lecture courses given by the Board of Education in large cities, a woman will be found for every man. Their rates range from \$10 to \$125 a night.

For church positions \$500 is the average salary, \$2,000 the highest, women's salaries equaling those paid men, as they do also for concert engagements. Women orchestras are new and popular, particularly in smaller cities and in towns, their work therefore pays well, orchestra players receiving from \$15 to \$45 a week and expenses, according to the work done and previous reputation. Women orchestras, however, cannot succeed as a novelty alone, but must be musically strong. Training is absolutely necessary to success in a musical career. One of the greatest vocal teachers in New York City, a woman of international fame after an experience of twenty years in Amrica, during which time she has had between 26 and 2,700 pupils, says that when she finds pupils who cannot pay her price, \$5 a half-hour, and recommends them to women teachers, graduate pupils of hers who teach her method, charging \$3 a half-hour, she finds that many of

them say, "Oh no! If I cannot take of you I will go to a man!" She thinks that this is due to the fact that they believe men can get engagements for their pupils more readily than women do and that they more often promise to do so. Prices charged for lessons by women teachers as well as by executants compare favorably with those charged by men of the same reputation, but the scale of remuneration is so often a sliding one and varied in individual cases by people of both sexes that it is utterly impossible to draw conclusions of value. They range from \$I to \$6 a half-hour.

Many managers testify to the fact that they prefer to engage women, finding them more dependable for rehearsals, careful as to details in filling engagements and prompt in recognizing financial claims. Some of them deplore the fact that women who have been bread-winners are apt to be less satisfied with a moderate income, and after a few years of married life return for engagements to supplement an income which would have been sufficient had these same women never earned money. They believe that there are too many women making money that they may enjoy greater luxuries, and that it means much to women who are seeking a livelihood.

As to women composers, up to the present time they have not attempted the large things. We have no great symphony or opera written by a woman, but as song writers many are well known, and their compositions are sold in goodly numbers by all leading music dealers, there being absolutely no difference in the selling price, at least from the price of music written by men.

The professions of the stage and the platform call for a sacrifice of much that is of charm and value in home life. Actors, singers and musicians are obliged to travel more or less, and absence and separation unquestionably affect marriage. Stage women have practically no family life and yet more than half are wives and mothers. Most professional people are very fond of home and work that they may keep it for themselves and those dependent upon them. "There are more divorces than

among others," says one of our most brilliant actresses, "but the children seem to come out as well as others, and the love and service between actress mothers and their children is very marked."

In the field of literature, the measure of woman's achievements is greater than in any other. While there have been literary women in all ages, not until the last century have they taken rank with men. To-day they very nearly, if they do not entirely, approach them in fiction, and while a great novel is not as great an instance of creative power as a great picture, poem or symphony, still many years of full opportunity and endeavor must have trained and developed women before the highest creative power can be denied them conclusively.

The actual number of books published each year is 10,000. There are 15,000 weekly papers and over 2,000 daily papers, equivalent to 135,000 books. More than nine-tenths then of all that is written to-day is written for the newspapers. The attitude of newspaper managers toward women is worth noting. I am able to give the opinions of but few, but these are fairly representative. As a rule managers prefer to employ men, as they can be worked harder, and less compunction is felt about throwing them out of work. The proportion of women regularly em-ployed on newspapers is small, the largest number on any one being five. The East is more conservative than the West on this point. On a large eastern paper two women are employed as against forty men. On one of our daily papers five women are regularly employed, salaries ranging from \$25 to \$30 a week. The most they have ever paid was \$100 a week for editorial work, the least \$20 for society work, each case exceptional.

Managers are forced, more or less, to employ women in departments relating strictly to the feminine element, such as club and society news, domestic science and fashion. Generally speaking, women have here the monopoly. Other work is given reluctantly, and in many cases women must prove by their work what would be taken for granted

in a man. Women reporters are paid from one-fourth to one-third less than men are paid, and all salaried positions in like proportion. That the number of women employed on newspapers has not increased as much in the last ten years as it has done in other lines, is due largely to the fact of the Associated Press and like associations which tend to reduce greatly the entire number of workers

Newspaper work is exacting and un-The strain is excessive. women could work as hard they could earn as much as men, but they rarely stand more than ten years of the life without breaking down. One of the best newspaper women in the United States says, "The woman who makes a success as a reporter must be willing to work from eight to fifteen hours in a day, seven days in the week, to take whatever assignment is given her, to accomplish the task set her in spite of difculty or rebuff, to practically renounce social life, to subordinate personal desires, to disarm prejudice against and create an impression favorable to women in this occupation, to expect no favors because of sex, and to submit her work to the same standard by which men are judged." The incomes of women employed on newspapers run from \$8 a week up to \$100, but it would hardly be frank to omit to state that the number who make less than \$20 a week is far greater than the number who make more.

Several hundred women in the United States make a living by writing fiction and essays for the Sunday editions of the dailies and for the magazines. Their average economic condition is not so good as that of women regularly employed as news gatherers, yet a number of them have considerable incomes and some are well known as writers of books.

In space work the rate is the same for both sexes, the only difference being that women often claim less for extra special articles than men do, as they have not the same means of knowing the commercial value of their work. In paying contributors to magazines there is no difference made. Ability governs

as a rule. More than one-half the magazine writing is being done by women. For various kinds of literary work there is a certain price, beyond which some of the conservative publishing houses never go, but with the more broadminded this is different. Viola Roseboro, a manuscript reader at McClure's, receives \$5,000 a year.

The American woman shows marked capacity not only as an editor, but in publishing and managing periodicals as well as in securing advertisments for them

Perhaps there is no newspaper in America that kept closer in touch with its readers than the New Orleans Picayune under the management of the late Mrs. Nicholson.

Women seem to be quite as clever as men in guessing at public sentiment and taking the course that will be most likely to secure practical success.

There has been sent me a list of eighteen publishers and editors in our own city who are at the head of their own business and financially responsible for its conduct, while the list of women editors who hold excellent salaried positions or who work on commission and have made a high reputation is legion.

An estimate of the average annual income made by literary workers is impossible, as most, if not all, write for many publications.

Women who are obliged to earn their living do the best work, as a rule. With the unmarried there is a greater necessity, and they have more vital force to put into their work, and stand it better. Women of mature experience and undiminished powers of assimilation are the most valuable workers. "I have never known an age limit," says a well-known newspaper man; and an equally well-known newspaper woman writes, "My half dozen best workers are fifty years old or over."

As to the effect on the home of the employment of the mother, and by that I mean conscientious, continuous earning of a living, not the occasional writing of pieces for the magazine, there is much to be said. While acknowledging that the home must be neglected more or less, and that children lose somewhat

by lack of oversight, the larger majority of replies I have received point out the facts:

That children are better educated because of the mother's employment, and her acquaintance and reputation are a great advantage to them when they wish to enter business or professional life.

The subjective rewards summarized mean a perpetual broadening of the intellectual and spiritual horizons of the worker, for, happily, the professions and employments which come within the province of this paper tend to the cultivation of the mind, to the awakening of the higher creative faculties, and many of them call for the exercise of hand as well as brain. All of them pertain to the home, in one way or other, for it seems quite as natural that a woman should write an article, or either write or act a play which should educate public opinion and society as that she should make beautiful table covers or design wall paper.

While the woman whose life is spent in the outer world has, many times, a wider range of interest, it does not follow that because a girl works in an office her mental and social outlook must be enlarged thereby. Is the broader outlook not sometimes entirely overlooked because the life becomes so soon a question of ways and means? The rush of the business world is not conducive to the making of real friends. Do these busy women miss social intercourse, the club, the church, the various evening functions they are too busy to attempt? From conversation with many I am led to believe that for the high-salaried woman in all lines there are compensations in independence, joy in her own proficiency, her enlarged vision, contact with the best minds, and the ease which money brings, which more than outweigh the loss. Many of these women, if they marry at all, marry late in life, because they demand more and will not marry men of inferior positions to the employer or the business men with whom they are brought in contact, but all have told me that conditions being equal, they would prefer marriage.

To the large majority, however, who do not get to the top, I believe there is

little in the outer world which compensates for the loss of the social element, which is an essential need of woman's nature.

I am led to believe that no other class of employment offers generally so congenial a field to women as those coming under the head of art and literature. This conclusion has been forced upon me by the enthusiasm for their work evident in the replies from workers along these lines. The work which brings joy in the doing, that which makes for beauty, for culture, for largeness of life, must and should be woman's work as well as man's.

From Social Settlement Centers

University Social Settlement, Cincinnati

John Howard Melish, in a recent appeal for the aid of student workers, gives facts of interest respecting this five-year-old work.

The building, located at Liberty and Plum streets, was, like Hull House, in former days, a mansion. "Its many rooms are large, with high ceilings, plate glass windows and massive woodwork. It is equipped with all the conveniences of more modern dwellings. The neighborhood in which it stands is closely built up with tenement houses and factories, thus crowding the population as nowhere else in the city.

nowhere else in the city.

"This mansion has been equipped with gymnasium, shower baths, reading-room, clubrooms, kindergarten and classrooms—in short, with those things in which tenement

house life is deficient.

"In addition to usual settlement features, this settlement is the sociological laboratory of the university. The workers here study the land and the buildings, their past history and their present sanitary and habitable condition. They also come to know the people; their nationality, their openness to American ideas, their habits, their work and wages, their tendencies and amusements. This acquaintance brings knowledge of the roots of political power in the district, of the public schools and the churches. Possessed of this information, the settlement people are in a position to estimate the comparative effi-ciency of the agencies which are working for social recovery, and in time may inform the city in regard to the total drift, downward or upward, of her life in that section. The settlement should become more and more a strong factor in the formation of a sound public opinion in this neighborhood, and in our city.

Blrmingham Woman's Settlement

In a suggestive article in "The Student Movement" Miss Dorothy Scott sets forth, under the title "Monotony in the Life of the Poor of Great Towns" some of the chief causes of the notable migration from the country to the cities.

Referring to the attraction of amusements, she says: "The chief variants of the life of the poor are either actively harmful or only just escape being so. They are there-fore not indulged in by the more respectable, and these pay heavily for their higher standards by a life of almost unrelieved dullness, so that it can hardly be wondered that virtue seems dreary to many. They are generally, though by no means universally, unconscious of the monotony in which they live, and, all alike, whether they belong to this 'clean and respectable' section of the community or to the reverse, have a childlike capacity for enjoyment if only it were within their reach in some wholesome form. Everyone who has watched them must have felt the pathos of their keen, almost grasping, pleasure in every minute of the time when they have been having some treat. Old women whose days are spent chiefly over the washtub, systematically overworking, will enjoy themselves like ten-year olds, and when, as is sometimes the case, it is their first outing for a dozen years, it is all the more amazing that they should appear so little crushed by the continuous work. For in the case of the respectable and striving, the work, more especially for a woman, is almost incessant. If she is the mother of a family with aspirations to a decent standard of cleanliness, life is one long battle against dirt in the house and in the clothes and persons of her children. So few of the richer classes ever live in the heart of a town, in houses right up to the pavement, that they hardly realize the much greater difficulties in the way of dust and dirt that have to be contended with by the poor. Before marriage, while they 'go to business,' as they call it, there is, of course, more variety in their lives, though the monotony of the long hours of constant repetition of some tiny mechanical process (which is the fate of many) is oppressive. Talking to each other is often impossible, owing to the noise of the machinery, and when there is no machinery silence is generally compulsory. The more respectable girls spend a large part of their scanty leisure helping in the housework at home, prompted by good feeling or sometimes coerced by parental authority. In the case of the women and girls, therefore, it seems that the monotony of life arises not so much from lack of occupation as from too much occupation of a rather wearisome kind.

Duxhurst Farm for Inebriate Women

The "Toynbee Record" reports a drawing-room meeting held at Toynbee Hall on March 9th, at which Lady Henry Somerset gave an address on the aims and work of the farm colony for inebriate women, at Duxhurst, near Reading. She emphasized the special claim of this colony as a piece of pioneer work, intended to substitute for the old "remedy" of perpetual reincarceration the treatment of drunkenness as a disease, in what should be a physical and moral hospital. The character of the buildings, groups of cottages, rather than one vast and intractable barrack, was important; the character of the women's work was still more important. The old principle that "woman's salvation must be worked out at the washtub" sacrificed the reform of the woman to the attempt to find paying employment; what was wanted was an absolutely fresh employment, whether paying or not, to break with the past and give a new line of thought. This was found at Duxhurst in gardening and farmwork, which had the further advantage of giving the women a sense of being necessary to some living thing in need of their care. Reviewing the results, Lady Henry Somerset claimed that they proved it a fallacy to say that drunken women cannot be cured; the colony doctor pronounces fifty to sixty per cent of the inmates to be permanently restored.

Association House

Association House (474 West North avenue, Chicago) was opened in 1899 under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association at the request of 115 young women in the neighborhood. Two years later the management became independent of the association, though still affiliated with it. The work soon overcrowded the rented rooms and overflowed into a house a block away on a fine site for new buildings. Effort to erect one of them for the use of boys and men is now being made by the Men's Bible Class of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, which has assumed charge of this department of the work.

During the past season there have been over 400 women and girls enrolled in the domestic economy departments, and our group of young women have become deeply interested in the intricacies of cookery.

The building site affords ample space for well-equipped playground. The attendance of children averaged 123 in the morning and 250 in the afternoon. Young men and women enjoy the grounds as eagerly in the evening.

enjoy the grounds as eagerly in the evening. The baby roll numbered 36, ranging in ages from five months to three years. With seven hammocks, pure milk depot and feeding bottles, we practically did the work of a day nursery. A wire-covered lunch shelf was provided with a lunch committee in charge.

The children were organized into com-

mittees to take charge of the hammocks, babies, swings, sand box, teeters, and to teach the various games, clean the grounds, and, in general, assist the superintendent. Clean City League buttons and leaflets were widely distributed. Badges as well as buttons were given the persistently good and helpful on the recommendation of their fellows.

On several occasions the boys cleaned North avenue, from Leavitt street to Milwauke avenue; they distributed hundreds of the pure milk posters, and the City Health Department leaflets.

The song and story hour at noon was very popular, the largest number present at one time being 200, when the head nurse of the Visiting Nurses' Association addressed the children on the Clean City League.

In the spring of 1903, extension work was organized among the fifty factories in the immediate neighborhood. An extension secretary, who had, herself, worked in a tailor shop, devotes her whole time to this shop work.

There are about 1,500 young women in the factories and tailor shops which have been visited.

The privilege of placing posters and announcements has been granted in most of these. Regular weekly meetings are held in five tailor shops at the noon hour.

These meetings are varied from song services and Bible talks to travel and practical talks. Many of the women have expressed appreciation for this break in the monotony of the day's work and have become interested in the settlement and are taking advantage of the classes and other gatherings of the house. In the fall of 1903 a resident worker was secured to take charge of the three weekly Bible classes and other religious meetings, which include Bible talks in the various young women's clubs.

On Sunday afternoon two Vesper services are held, one for young men and one for young women. At the close of the meetings tea is served to those who care to remain. The attendance at the tea hour ranges from 30 to 80 or more, membership of about 275, while the Women's Department has grown to number fifteen clubs, having a membership of over 700.

Hull House Chicago

The dedication of a memorial organ at Hull House was the settlement event of the month in Chicago. It was given by the family of Mrs. Sarah Rozet Smith, one of the arliest and most constant friends of the house and its head resident. Fortunate is the family, as Miss Addams well said, in which to the deepest love of their own children is added such sympathy with the wider circle of less favored families as not only permits but prompts fellowship and service between them. Here among the humble homes to which this home has so long mintered and kept its hospitable door wide open,

the great organ will long breathe into neediest lives the music, spirituality and concord, of the sweet, strong gentlewoman whose passing away bereaves not only her kindred but a multitude with whose spirit she had come to be akin. For from her devotion to the ultimate purpose of this socially democratic work she never swerved. In tones as deep and tender as those of her own harmonious life, this organ will lift all who hear it to the higher unity of similar ideals, and leave them who yield to its message in the equality which death ever teaches and exemplifies to life.

The Hull House Women's Club is said to be the first settlement woman's club in the country to announce the erection of a building to be used exclusively for its meetings.

The building comes as a donation from Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen and it is expected it will be ready for the club women by next fall.

The new building, 42x100 feet and two stories high, will face on Polk street, west of the Hull House gymnasium. There will be two entrances, one on Polk street and the other a private entrance from the gymnasium. In the basement will be the library of the club, the sewing-room and the cloak-rooms, and a refreshment kitchen and several committee rooms. Above will be the large audience room, with a gallery holding 800 seats.

Chicago Commons' Tenth Year

The annual May Festival, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the settlement, is thus announced:

Tenth anniversary rally at Scandia Hall, Tuesday evening, May 3, 8:15 o'clock. A mass meeting of all clubs and classes. Music by the Daily News Band. The work of various departments briefly presented. Singing by the Chicago Commons Choral Club.

Addresses—Mr. John Maynard Harlan, Aldermen William E. Dever and Louis E. Sitts, Raymond Robins and Graham Taylor.

AT CHICAGO COMMONS.

Wednesday evening, May 4—Concert by the Chicago Commons Mandolin Club, assisted by the Oak Park Banjo Club.

Thursday evening, May 5—Graduation and reception of the Domestic Science Department.

Friday evening, May 6—Operetta "Florinda," by the Chicago Commons Children's Chorus; fancy drills by gymnasium class and play by Girls' Club.

Saturday afternoon, May 7, 2:30 o'clock—Matinee performance of "Florinda" and special features.

Saturday evening, May 7—Exhibition by the gymnasium, dramatic and musical departments.

Friday and Saturday, May 6 and 7, 2 to 10 p. m.

Exhibits—Kindergarten and training school, cooking, sewing, art needlework, carpet and rug weaving, basketwork, manual training, Girls' Club handwork; also handwork by the pupils of the Washington and Montefiore public schools.

All neighbors and friends cordially invited.

Two Significant Books

A Year Book of Social Progress

From its first edition, this serial volume makes good its promise to fill a long-felt need. If it did no more than make accessible and readily referable the government statistics of population and industry, and the scattered summaries of labor organizations and the educational, social, philanthropic and religious resources at work, it would be an effective economy of time, energy and capital. The personal and material values invested in the census and in privately maintained sources of information, are too great not to be at hand and put to the widest use. Nowhere else are they to be found so conveniently grouped, trustworthily stated, graphically presented and cheaply published.

But the Year Book has many original features of its own which add much to the great value of these compilations. Among the most valuable of these are the brief but comprehensive summaries of social conditions

and movements furnished by the corps of capable collaborators enlisted from many lands and peoples. The errors and incompletenesses of the work are only those incident, if not unavoidable, to such a first essay into so complex a field of inquiry.

What the "Statesman's Year Book" is to

What the "Statesman's Year Book" is to the publicist, the census abstract to the statistician, the metropolitan almanacs to the politician, Blue Book and commission report to commerce and labor, this Year Book will immediately become to all who are intelligently engaged in the multiform social service of state, city, church, school and philanthropy. Dr. Strong has added another distinct contribution to his many public services, and Mr. W. D. P. Bliss thus issues an annual collaboration of his valuable Encyclopedia of Social Reform.

"Social Progress," a Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economics, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics, by Josiah Strong. Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.00 net.

The Neighbor

The Neighbor. The Natural History of Human Contacts. By Nathaniel S. Shaler. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo. \$1.30 net.

A book which no one interested in the larger problems of races or the questions of individual associations of mankind can afford

Especially valuable to students of the tremendous immigration issues and race diffi-culties in America, "The Neighbor" also treats in a convincing, pleasing and interesting way the evolution and philosophy of mutual attraction, repulsion, contact and isolation in individuals, tribes and races.

Perceiving that the most important feature of the American commonwealth consists in the intimate mixture in its society of exceedingly diverse races, Professor Shaler recognizes that we are, perhaps at the price of our national life, endeavoring to accomplish the task, which historically seems impossible, of merging all the discrepant elements in a close-knit society.

In other states, which have had a like variety of men within their bounds, the various peoples have been geographically segregated so that the interaction has been between masses of folk, each keeping something like a tribal isolation.

Leading from the primitive expressions of the individual in the earliest forms of or-ganic life, Professor Shaler presents not only the contemporaneous problems of the individual, tribe and race, but also all the steps and evolutionary processes which have con-tributed to the present conditions, and a knowledge of which are absolutely essential to him who would understand or treat the present-day problems. If only for the clear and original statement of the great ethnic problems of the Hebrew, and more especially the negro, Professor Shaler's latest book should be studied by all interested in those problems; and, though his answers to the questions asked by the presence of diverse races of the United States may not appeal to all, yet, as the recommendations of a great naturalist and humanitarian, they must exercise great influence.
His "way out" of the American difficul-

ties, including certain added restrictions to immigration and certain added disfranchisement of the negro, will be condemned by many who lack Professor Shaler's knowledge of and insight into the necessary and natural limitations and variations of races of men. On the other hand, his appreciations of men generally condemned or despised will fail to appeal to them who have not that broad conception of and faith in human nature which is the possession of the author of "The Neighbor."

Pestalozzi-Froebel Kindergarten Training School at Chicago Commons. Two years' course in kindergarten theory and practice. A course in home making. Industrial and social development emphasized. Includes opportunity to become familiar with social settlement work. For circulars and particulars address Bertha Hofer Hegner, Chicago Commons, 180 Grand avenue, Chicago

A head resi-WANTED dent at Columbian School Settlement, Pittsburg. Pa. The house is situated in a foreign neighborhood and a Jewess is preferred. Address all communications to Mrs. A.L. Well, 5931 Howe St., Pittsburg.

An Airy Summer Home To Rent

Five rooms and two large shady porches, among wooded sand hills overlooking Lake Michigan; Macatawa For terms write to Rev. Jeremiah Cromer, Wellington, Ohio.

Summer Cottages at Macatawa, Mich., to Rent for the Season

Recently built cottage, furnished, seven rooms and bathroom with running water, on Lake Michigan shore, south of Macatawa, seven bours from Chicago by Graham & Morton daily line steamers. Fine site between lake and woods. Apply "COTTAGE," care The Commons, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago.

FOR SALE

Lake front cottage, Macatawa Park, seven rooms, double veranda, running water, partially furnished if desired. Apply "COTTAGE," care The Commons, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago.



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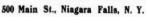
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